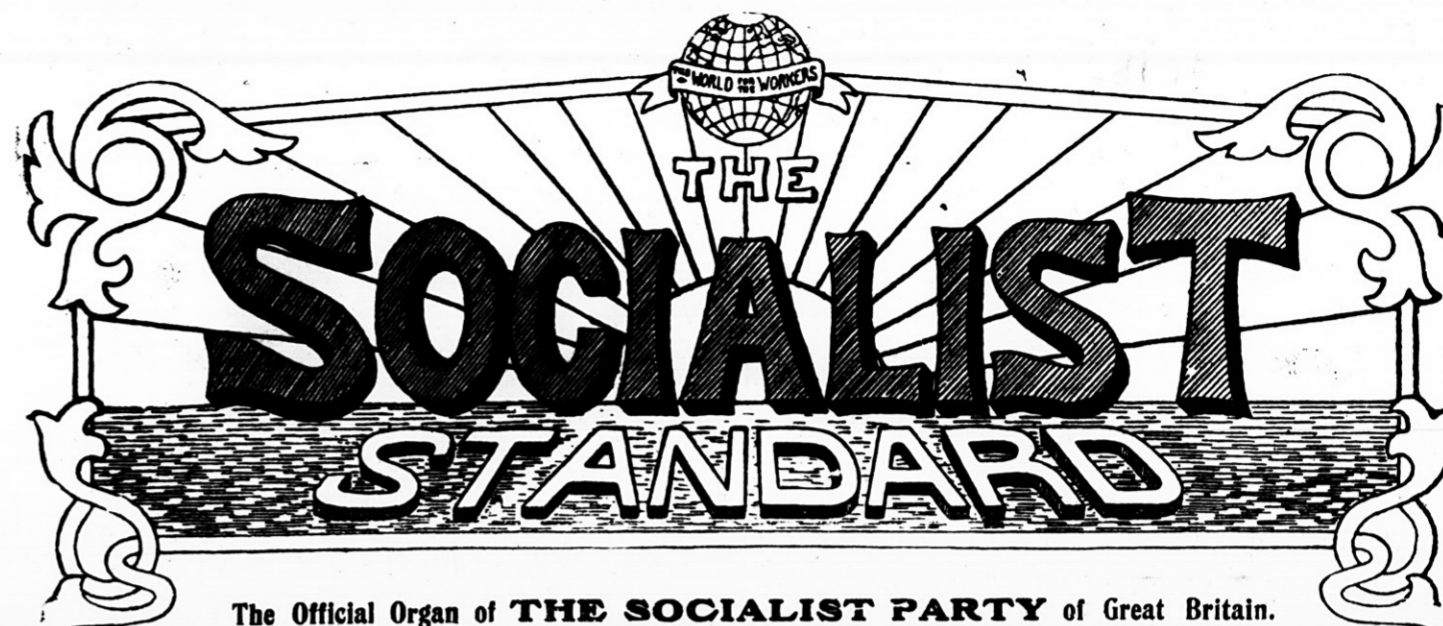


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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

METHODS OF ORGANISATION. WHICH IS CORRECT?

A good deal of importance has of late been attached to the question of the industrial organisation of the working class. It is now more than ever necessary to sound a note of warning. A lot has been written and said unduly emphasising this importance. While the present writer admits the necessity for some form of organisation on the industrial field, he realises that these, at best, have their limitations.

Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, with the advocacy of their respective methods of "war" on the capitalist class, such as the rank and file movement of the metal trades, the general "down tools" policy, "direct action," sabotage, etc.—all these have been brought to the front at various times, with claims that they represent the correct form of organisation for the workers to take up in order to free themselves from the domination of capitalism.

Now all these methods may be useful to the workers in their immediate and every-day struggle on the industrial field against the masters. But they all fall short, as they can never abolish the cause of their trouble; they can only deal with the effects of that cause.

There is no need to enter into details respecting the various industrial organisations and their different methods, as most readers will be already familiar with their activities. But it is sufficient to say that the general tendency of such bodies is either to ignore, or display indifference to, political action. Apart from defects in their method of industrial organisation, the casting aside or belittling of political action is where the Socialist is mainly concerned.

In order to arrive at a correct position it is necessary, first of all, to state shortly the position of the working class during that period covered by the rise of the capitalist class to power.

With the accession to power of the capitalists came the enclosing of the land, or taking from the mass their right to work on their plot of land—a right that had existed for centuries, so long as they recognised and rendered certain duties and services to the lord of the manor. When access to the land was denied them, the working people found their means of existence gone. Such a condition the rising capitalists found necessary to their economic development. They realised that so long as the people had a stake in the land (with the individual productive methods arising from it, which enabled them to provide their own needs), this would continue to operate against them and the development of their growing commercial enterprises. The one thing essential to their success was a class of workers who had no property. This was found in the people who were turned off the land, and whose ranks were continually increased by others who were crushed out by the cheapness of collective production. This period marked the complete severance of the

worker from his tools and products; henceforward he is compelled to sell his power to labour to the class which owns the tools and the land.

This is exactly the position existing to-day—that is, the capitalist class own all the means of life on one hand, the workers own nothing but their power to labour on the other. From this condition springs all our troubles.

Every person, worker or capitalist, requires food, clothing and shelter, which, in the shape of raw material, must first of all be derived from the land. Now if one class owns the land and the tools of production, it follows that those who do not own cannot get food, clothing, and shelter except by permission of that class. The latter, having possession of those things the workers need, have the power to say on what terms those needs shall be satisfied. What are those terms?

They are that the workers shall work on the land, in the factories, etc., in such a way as will permit the masters to meet all expenses, such as rent, rates and taxes, cost of raw material, wages, out of the total wealth produced, and yet have a surplus left for themselves. This surplus is known as profit, the production of which is their sole object.

Whence does this profit arise? It arises through the workers applying their energies to natural objects in such a way as to produce in a given period more wealth than is necessary to sustain them during that period.

Profit, then, is robbery. Proof. We see that wealth is the result of the application of labour-power to natural objects—to change their form and position in order to meet the requirements of society. There is no other source of economic wealth.

It is the working class which, through the application of their energy produce all wealth, but it is easy to see that they do not consume all that they produce. There is another class, the capitalists, who live to consume wealth, but who produce none. Instead, they consume over two thirds of what the workers produce.

Assume a 9 hour working day—it means that for the whole 9 hours the worker only gets a value in wages equal to what he produces in 3, and the capitalist class, who do no work, get value equal to the product of 6 hours. Therefore the worker, out of 9 hours, works 6 hours for no return. This is how and where the worker is robbed; where the surplus-value is created.

It is this surplus-value that is troublesome to the working class. The capitalists not only wish to maintain it, but to increase it, either of which, through competition, means economy in production, improved machinery, speeding-up—all of which must react upon the working class. The latest scheme along these lines was noticed in the "Manchester Guardian" (24.10.17), where it was shown that a plan was in definite shape

to set up industrial councils all over the country whose business it would be to see that production was increased, any attempt at restriction prevented, greater economy exercised, both in men and machinery, and, above all, greater improvements in the methods of production.

Whilst all this is going on, the workers feel the pinch. They realise that in order to meet it individual action is useless. They unite in crafts and still find that as a class they are gradually getting more and more enslaved. Bargaining on the political field has been tried, but its only result is to show that Liberals and Tories alike are opposed to them. Even when members of their own class were elected to voice their interests they found they were no better off in the matter of representation. Men who could lead them astray on the industrial field, lost no time in doing ditto on the political field. Proof is not wanting that they have lent themselves to the dirtiest work of the capitalists. As if to make matters more confusing than ever, along comes the Anarchist, the Syndicalist, and Industrialist, prating about political action being useless. "Let us form one or several big unions, all affiliated, then when we wish we can say: 'To hell with the bosses! We are in possession of the tools of production; let us lock them out and produce for ourselves!'"

This sounds all right, but it leaves out of account a serious factor, viz, the power held by the capitalists over the armed forces. This power is political, and though the capitalist is in a minority of 1 to 7, it is by virtue of its possession they are able to wield the military in any direction they choose. The importance of this power to the capitalists is shown by the amount of energy and money they are prepared to expend, especially at election times, in order to gull the workers into supporting them. They realise that mere ownership is not sufficient—they must have power to keep their ownership effective. They know that a notice "Trespassers will be prosecuted" is useless unless there is a power to back it up. The power behind the notice consists of police, magistrates, and in the last resort, the military. Crimes against private property, such as damage and theft, are dealt with by the civil authorities generally. But suppose such damage or theft was carried out by masses of people too large for the civil authorities to handle, as in cases of strikes or aggravated poverty, through unemployment, what happens then? The Home Office sends troops or naval forces to the affected area, and brings them into active use if necessary to protect the masters' property.

The Home Office is part and parcel of the political machine. The capitalists, having control of the political machinery, appoint one of their own class or a hireling, as Home Secretary, who is head of the Home Office, and who is held responsible to the Government

for the conduct of his department, as instance Asquith when he stated that he accepted full responsibility for the use of troops at Featherstone in 1893, and later, when Winston Churchill, during the railway dispute said "the railways must be run at all costs," and when, according to the Chairman of the S.E. Ry., 30,000 troops were moved from Aldershot with equipment and supplies for three months in the short space of six-and-a-half hours, to operate in the strike area.

These troops, in "peace" as well as in war time, are equipped and maintained from the National Exchequer, the head of which is responsible to the Government for the efficient carrying out of the work of his department.

One could go on detailing the functions of the various Government departments. The point is, however, that all the means of power, whether for making laws for the workers to observe, or for oppressing them forcibly, are in the hands of Liberal and Tory capitalists, and they are ably assisted in exploiting them by their decoy ducks, the "Labour representatives." In other words, it is the capitalist class who make the laws, who vote the supplies and means for the maintenance of the naval, military, and civil forces, the ultimate use of which is to keep the workers in subjection. It is here that the power of the capitalist class resides.

This need not continue. It is the business of the Socialist Party to educate the workers to the understanding that their interests of necessity must be absolutely opposed to those of the masters, and to organise them on the basis of class to the point of seizing political power from the oppressors, and so getting control of the armed forces, which can, if necessary, be used for the purpose of establishing freedom, instead of, as at present, being used as instruments of oppression.

It might be asked, does this mean that it is unnecessary for the workers to organise on the industrial field? Of course not. Under present industrial conditions such organisation is necessary in order to protect themselves against the worsening of their conditions. But industrial organisation at its best can only be a means of defence. It cannot attack because in order to be effective in its function as an industrial weapon it must, so long as there exists no widespread class-consciousness among the workers, of necessity take all shades of thought into its ranks. It must take in all workers, even those who support capitalism as a system, and who are only concerned with the question of wages and hours, as well as Socialists, who realise that these same questions must be faced as a disagreeable necessity, but who are out for the abolition of the wages system altogether. Thus, to be effective in the fullest sense, a working-class organisation must be based on class-consciousness, that is, the recognition of its class interest as against the interests of the capitalist class.

As pointed out before, in order to completely defeat the capitalist class, whose power is political, the workers must organise into a revolutionary political party. Such a party is the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Its guiding principles can be found on the last page of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. It is sufficient to say that it is the only political organisation of the workers in this country. It consists of Socialists, and there is no room inside it for wire-pullers, go-betweens, or parasites of any description, such as infest other organisations. It keeps itself clean by shedding its bad elements—when there are any. It does not depend to-day upon its numbers, but on its understanding. It believes that if the workers are educated to the point of intelligent rebellion on the political field, their action on the industrial field is bound to be in conformity. It is not the business of a Socialist party to assist in the patching up of a rotten system based upon exploitation and blood, but to bring about its abolition—the sooner the better. But this cannot be done until the workers, whether they are industrially organised or not, realise their class position, their subjection to capital.

To sum up: Socialism is international—its principles apply to every country under the sun where capitalism exists. Socialism is the only form of society that can bring freedom. To

attain this the capture of political power is necessary the world over. This means, then, that the workers must organise into a worldwide movement before Socialism can be established. Not so with industrial organisations. Whatever form they may take, their activity is necessarily conditioned by the pace set by the capitalists in a particular manufacturing area. It is true that the reasons for their existence lie in the conditions created by capitalism, yet it is equally true they deal only with effects and not with causes. While this is quite legitimate as far as it goes, it cannot be denied that all the industrial organisation in the world will not emancipate the workers so long as they leave the capitalist class in possession of the political machinery, with which they control the economic powers. Industrial organisation has changed, and must change, with the development of capitalism, whereas the object of the Socialist party is ever the same—the abolition of private ownership in the means of life and the establishment of a system of society based on common ownership.

We have pointed the way; read our literature and get busy. FIAT LUX.

BY THE WAY.

Some of the printed matter which reaches me from time to time is intensely interesting. For instance, quite recently a church magazine was brought to my notice wherein the reverend sir was, of course, pushing his spiritual wares and, incidentally, dilating on the all-absorbing topic of air raids. This divine addresses himself thusly:

My Dear Parishioners and Friends—We must be grateful that our homes and parish suffered no damage in the recent air raids, and take courage, trusting that He who kept and preserved us will continue to protect us in the future. There would not be the alarm and fear, I think, were people to repose more faith in God and look to Him, for "vain is the help of man."

The question of the people and their homes in other parishes, where death and destruction took place, does not seem to trouble this ambassador of the Lord, for he makes no reference to them whatever. To a poor heathen like me the Christian religion seems to be an absurd and extremely selfish one.

Our dear brother says "vain is the help of man," and we ought to "repose more faith in God and look to Him." This after millions of men and boys have been led like lambs to the slaughter, and hundreds of thousands of men and women have been engaged for three years at least in the manufacture of death-dealing instruments. Why pass military service acts and a hundred-and-one other acts if "vain is the help of man," reverend sir?

The colossal hypocrisy of this clerical rant is further evidenced on another page of this magazine of pap-food, fit only for old women of both sexes. An announcement appears: "Evening on Sundays at 6 p.m. until further notice." Again one is tempted to ask the question, why change the hour of worship if all that is required is "more faith"? And finally, why not disband the anti-aircraft defence corps?

We have of late heard quite a lot with regard to the Allies War Aims, and yet withal one must confess that the information thus imparted has been of a very meagre nature. A day or so before that hard-working body of national service volunteers voted for a short holiday, in order to recuperate before setting themselves to the arduous task of passing a man-power Bill, several members of Parliament evinced a desire for a re-statement of "our" war aims. The Parliamentary Correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle," commenting on the debate writes (20.12.1917): "Mr. Balfour on war aims to-day was not enlightening. He took refuge in vague generalities, sheltered himself behind the imposing personality of President Wilson, and scolded Mr. Arthur Ponsonby with heat and acrimony. What Mr. Balfour would have said if Mr. Ponsonby had not spoken I cannot imagine. The debate was opened by Sir William

Collins in a speech remarkable equally for its ability, moderation, and eloquence.

Except for a passing courteous allusion, Mr. Balfour gave the go-by to this very persuasive utterance and flew to attack Mr. Ponsonby, whom presumably he regarded as fair game because of his pacifist antecedents. The Foreign Secretary was much less than fair to the member for Stirling, making even the grotesque imputation that Mr. Ponsonby's speech was animated by a desire to help the enemy."

To such depths have our rulers descended that even when supporters of the capitalist system of society touch them on the raw they begin to squeal about helping the enemy, in the pay of the enemy, and suggestively name our old friend (!) Bolo. If an avowed pacifist organisation offends, then its offices must be raided, and all in the interests of "democracy" and the desire to put down "Prussian militarism."

The same correspondent goes on to add: "What was remarkable in the debate was the number of influential members entirely untouched by pacifism who earnestly pleaded with the Government for a re-definition of our war aims." A whole host of names are mentioned with the addition that they are "men of weight whose criticism no Government can lightly disregard." Then we read: "All of them urged the Cabinet to fling away Imperialistic ambitions, to stand firmly by our original disinterested war aims, and to abjure the idea of an economic war to follow the present war of arms. There was stinging criticism of Sir Edward Carson's recent speeches."

These occasions when the House has what one might call heart-to-heart talks are like angels' visits, few and far between. Sometimes the truth unconsciously leaks out, as, for instance, the reference to "our ORIGINAL disinterested war aims." We have ourselves often thought that "our disinterested war aims" were on a sliding scale. We all remember the cry in those far-off days about "poor Belgium" and know that many were ensnared thereby. But in how many cases was the question of Alsace-Lorraine and the prolonging of the war to the end that this might become part and parcel of France so apparent?

A few meetings in London under the auspices of the War Aims Committee with questions invited would indeed be illuminating. Will they try it?

To prevent misunderstanding and to make it plain to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear, be it known that OUR war aims are as follow: The establishment of a system of Society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community. The World for the Workers!

Fellow workers, come, then, and join us and help to secure peace and plenty for all.

Lld. George's boss (or office boy), Mr. Answers—pardon, I mean Lord Northcliffe—recently paid a visit to America on behalf of the British Government. He has once again returned to this country, and the Yankees seem to be overjoyed thereat. On this subject the following will not be out of place:

"We confess to considerable relief at the news that Lord Northcliffe has landed in England, and trust that work of such importance in connection with the conduct of the war will be found for him as will preclude his return." So says the New York "Evening Post," and continues:

"We cannot feel that his recent utterances have been helpful to the United States. He has directly contradicted the President's assertion that we are 'fighting to make the world safe for democracy,' saying that our real object is 'to make the world safe for ourselves,' and that 'self-interest' is our chief motive. Then he openly controverted the Chairman of our Shipping Board, Mr. Edward N. Hurley, declaring that the statement that we shall build six million tons of shipping was wholly wrong. 'I see,' he calmly said, 'no signs of such tonnage in 1918.'"

"We cannot feel that Mr. Hearst or Mr. Munsey would be popular if they went to England and successfully reproved the Prime Minister, the head of their Shipping Board, and the War Office; nor do we believe that either the British Ministry or the

British people care to have this kind of talking agent in the United States.

"Daily News," 12.12.1917.

Yet the present chronicler seems to recollect additional honours being thrust upon him shortly after his return. A strange world, my masters!

One remembers hearing in one's youthful days the riddle propounded: Why are parsons like finger posts? And later years and observation have fully justified the answer. Quite recently I read of a brother in Christ being charged with an offence under the "Food Hogs" Order. Now whether the event which led to his undoing was a dispensation of Divine Providence or the Old Nick was getting a bit of his own back I cannot say, but sad to relate

Defendant's motor car broke down and it was found to contain a sack of sugar obtained from a local grocer.

Defendant, who pleaded that he was unaware of the control order, was fined £3 and costs.

"Daily News," 14.12.1917.

Evidently the "bench" did not accept the "ignorance" of the greedy pig of Knodishall, Suffolk, in this matter. He ought to have tried the yarn that it was for the poor of his flock. It might, at least, have left the way open for a special collection "to comfort our dear pastor in the trials and tribulations of his martyrdom."

While we continue to read and receive advice concerning the amount of munitions we should allow the inner man and the need for saving food to "ensure victory," signs are not wanting that our masters and their friends are still carrying on as of yore. A week or so ago the menu of a Masonic banquet was criticised at a meeting of the local Urban Council. The menu was reported to have consisted of—

Oysters; oxtail soup; tomato soup; boiled turbot (sauces Hollandaise); fried soles (sauce maitre d'hotel); chicken cutlets; roast saddle of mutton; roast sirloin of beef; Yorkshire pudding; punch a la Romaine; roast pheasant; macedoine of fruit; Swiss cream; dessert; coffee.

A good selection here to choose from and something for the epicurean taste. However, a member of the aforesaid Council proposed—

That while, in comparison with this menu, queues for margarine, tea, sugar, and other necessities were of frequent occurrence, for the purpose of preventing class feeling and unrest, the Council, in its capacity as the authority in charge of the Food Control Committee, asks the Government to at once issue an order to prevent such reported gluttony during the war.—"Daily News," 7.12.1917.

The above is not an isolated instance, and yet at the same time that our masters and pastors and their hangers-on are stuffing their ungodly guts our wives and mothers and sisters wait in queues for the common necessities of life. When shall we wake up?

When the slaughter will end. "Mr. Prothero, President of the Board of Agriculture, said at Nottingham yesterday that the war would be decided in the prosaic region of the human belly. Victory would go to the side which could command the last sack of wheat and the last stone of meat."—"Reynolds's," 9.12.1917.) The decisive military or knock-out blow gives place here to the economic.

We still remember the cry of the All-into-the-Army advocates who told us that "we" were fighting to crush Prussian militarism. We said then and say now that there are as many "Prussian" militarists, Bernhards, and Nietzches here as there are in Germany. This seems to be dawning on others at last. The following is a good example:

"The Rye Tribunal last evening discussed the case of a grocer named Jordan, who in addition to his business, has a delicate son and an afflicted aunt dependant upon him. The Tribunal had repeatedly given three month's exemption, and their action was supported by the military representative. Now, it was stated, the case had been reviewed by the military authority and sent to the Appeal Tribunal at Hastings, who had reversed the local decision.

This action was described at last night's meeting as grossly unfair, and as an example of "Prussian-

ism," and as a protest it was decided to suspend the sittings of the local Tribunal for three months. The Mayor has written stating that the matter will be discussed by the Town Council next Monday, and adding: "It is nothing less than the Prussian military spirit which we are fighting to crush out."

"Daily News," 7.12.1917.

One had almost despaired of hearing words of wisdom fall from the lips of a cleric, so accustomed had one become to the inanities of these rainbow-chasing mystery-mongers. But the unexpected happens. Dean Inge a short time ago let fall a veritable bomb. He referred to the war as being "Europe's Suicide Club," and gave utterance to a few truths which are acceptable to quite a number of people who were once in favour of spending the last shilling and the last drop of blood (other people's, of course).

To a great deal of what he had to say there is no answer, and this seems to be appreciated by the powers that be. When questioned in the House as to what they intended doing with regard to the Dean's speech, the official reply was "Ignore it." Passages like the following take a large amount of honesty to reply to. He says: "You cannot break the spirit of a people by defeating its troops. If we were crushed in this war, should we take it lying down? We should not, neither will our opponents."

Moreover, of what avail is it to the workers if, in order to dethrone militarism in Germany, it has to be enthroned in England? The only thing that matters is for the international working class to see that they are the people who are called upon to do the killing and be killed, and to suffer the greatest hardships; therefore if they want peace on earth they themselves must institute it by ending the present system of Society and ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE SCOUT.

AND THAT'S THAT.

Readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD will be aware that there has recently taken place an editorial combat between that journal and the organ of the Socialist Labour Party, the "Socialist." In the course of that combat it was shown by this side that the columns of the "Socialist" reflect the political ignorance and unsound organisation of the body whose organ it is supposed to be. Necessarily, that political ignorance must have its root in lack of knowledge of the scientific achievements of those men who raised Socialism to a science—Marx and Engels. In the September and November (1917) issues of the "Socialist" it is to be found a case which bears this statement out.

In the September issue a contributor signing himself A. E. Cook, essaying to teach others what he himself does not understand, said: "Supposing the world's output of gold is doubled, and the labour needed to mine, refine it, etc., remained the same, then the price of gold would tumble to about half, and an ounce of gold could be bought for 40s."

This absurdity attracted the attention of one Wm. Walker, who, addressing the Editor as "Sir," and being referred to as "Mr. Walker," presumably was not a member of the S.L.P. The critic pointed out that "Marx tells us that 'money has no price.'" And he very legitimately proved A.E.C.'s statement to be the absurdity it is.

Mr. Walker's letter, the Editor of the S.L.P. organ informs us, was sent on to Mr. Cook, "to enable him to deal with the matter."

How does Mr. Cook deal with it? By resorting to a lot of tosh about "the dual function of gold when it appears at one time as a commodity and at another as money." "My argument," he goes on, "is that the value of gold would fall to half as a result of the increased production; and, all else being equal, the price would also fall to half."

Would it! Let us see, then, where Mr. Cook lands himself.

"Gold," Mr. Cook tells us, "functions as money." That is to say, it functions as the medium of exchange. But why? Simply because, besides having certain qualities which

select it from almost all other commodities, it contains that essential element which constitutes value—embodied socially necessary labour.

This value is, in the case of all commodities, measured by quantity; for instance, double the amount of the same commodity contains double the value. Hence the shilling (the reference is not, of course, to the silver coin of that denomination, but to the portion of gold equal to the twentieth part of a sovereign) contains a definite portion of the ounce of gold, and therefore a definite portion of the value of the ounce of gold. That is the crux of the matter. It is not the gold as such that is needed to make money, but the value of which the gold is the measure.

It is quite obvious, then, that the shilling must always bear the same definite quantitative relation to the ounce of gold, both in the matter of weight and of value, and if the gold sinks in value the shilling will do so also. Therefore the value of the oz. of gold could never fall to 40s., fall it never so low. The formula must always be: 1 oz. gold = 80s., never as Mr. Cook says: 1 oz. gold = 40s.

We can find a simple illustration in the case of a foot rule, which in the first instance cost 1s. According to Mr. Cook's method if the value fell by half, the foot rule would only be six inches long. Thus—

A—1 foot rule = 12 inches.

B—1 foot rule = 6 inches.

The foot rule stands in the place of the oz. of gold; the inches are analogous to the shillings. As the inches are parts of the rule itself, so the shillings are parts of the oz. of gold. The 80s. are no more the price of the gold than the inches are the price of the rule—they are the thing itself, and it is impossible for the thing to be its own price. Just as the changing value of the rule cannot be revealed by its inch marks, but only by comparing it with something outside itself—money—so the changing value of the gold is not revealed by its parts, but only by comparing it with the whole world of commodities outside itself. Granted, therefore, that in Mr. Cook's first case

A—1 oz. gold = 80s.

is correct, his formula in his second case (i.e., when the value of gold had fallen to half) :

B—1 oz. gold = 40s.

is wrong, for it would result in this:

A—1 oz. gold = 80s., or = 2 cwt. blacking.

B—1 oz. gold = 40s., or = 1 cwt. blacking.

thus leaving gold in its money form with the same purchasing power as before—which is ridiculous.

Of course, the correct formula is

A—1 oz. gold = 80s., or = 2 cwt. blacking.

B—1 oz. gold = 80s., or = 1 cwt. blacking.

Mr. Cook's concluding advice to Mr. Walker to "re-read a little more carefully that chapter from Marx from which he tears his quotation" when "I am confident he will get a little insight into the dual function of gold and avoid confusing gold as money with gold as a commodity" about reaches the limit of the ludicrous. The above shows who is confused.

Now for another aspect of this matter. It was recently shown in these columns that the pages of the "Socialist" had been used for urging the workers to support the capitalist war. In the resultant discussion the "Socialist" said how ready they were to congratulate the subjects of their criticism when they amended their ways, and instanced when the B.S.P. assumed control of their official organ. The impudence of this statement in view of the utter inability of the S.L.P. to conduct their own party organ in accordance with the principles they profess to hold is striking. Those in "control" of the S.L.P. organ follow their violation of the principle of the class struggle by teaching unsound economics, even in the face of correction.

The present writer is now waiting to be told that he is a "logic chopper."

A. E. J.

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the SOCIALIST STANDARD through the usual channels should communicate with the Head Office, 193 Grays Inn Rd., W.C., when regular delivery will be arranged.

PART VI. FEUDALISM IN EUROPE.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION.

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Among the serfs themselves existed many traces of the old communal spirit and institutions. Their land, for instance, was still divided very much according to the old prin-

With the growing riches of the Church the clergy, especially the higher officials, had in it a vital interest to defend. Organised internationally, and with its millions of superstitious and mentally servile adherents, the Church wielded an enormous social power. Its leaders, recognising that its strength lay in the ignorant beliefs of the masses, set the entire power of the organisation against any swerving from its accepted articles of faith. Whilst it damned all actions contrary to the social virtues of feudalism, it declared *heresy* the greatest sin of all. Whosoever was suspected of the slightest trace of unorthodoxy in religious opinion was the legitimate prey of this "vulture of the ages." Every cunning means, every agent, the spy, the informer, were used for its bloody ends. Imprisonment, fiendish torture, and the slow fire at the stake, were its means of enforcing Christian belief and "charity." Jews and Moors, because of their wholesale heresies and, of course incidentally (!) their not inconsiderable

The first, when divested of the romantic trappings with which it has been endowed, is seen to have been an attitude adopted by the nobility with the fundamental object of ensuring the chastity of the women of the aristocracy, so that they should give birth only to legitimate heirs. These, by inheriting the feudal estates and privileges, carried on and preserved the

But as feudalism developed, the lords began to eye with rapacious greed the growing wealth of the townsmen under their lordship, and fearful of the lords' continual encroachments, the inhabitants made their towns fortified centres of resistance against the baronial power. The fortified towns now became a refuge for fugitive serfs, for they offered them protection from their erstwhile lords ; and usually after residence in the town for a certain period they were regarded as freemen. Thus the town population grew. Then the desire of the barons or of the king for ready money enabled them to purchase various trade-rights and privileges, and eventually to shake off all feudal dues and

These organisations of the mediæval workers, to protect their common interests were, in their vigorous prime (and we cannot go here into their decadency, during which they developed aristocratic tendencies, excluding the poorer artisans, who could no longer become master craftsmen and were therefore employed permanently by the guild masters as wage-workers), impressed their principles strongly upon the moral views of their membership. Any infringement of the guild regulations was considered highly criminal and traitorous, rendering the offender liable to expulsion and therefore preventing him from working at his craft, making him, in fact, an industrial outlaw.

Summing up the morality of feudal society we again see that the class interests of the ruling lords—lay and clerical—and also of the semi-independent craftsmen of the townships,

determined their conception of "right and wrong," just and unjust, exactly as we saw to be the case with the Greek and Roman slaveholders. But, under a system of chattel-slavery, sheer physical force was almost the sole means of holding the slaves in subjection. It was not necessary for a community of interests between master and slave to be hypocritically assumed and inculcated. What the slaves thought was of little or no consequence to their owners: morality was considered no concern of slaves; it was held to be an attribute of and an obligation upon "free-men" alone.

On the contrary with serfdom, the greater cohesion manifested by the workers made it very necessary to use mental as well as physical means to secure their complete subjection. A pseudo moral code was required for the workers in order to guide their activities along lines consistent with the welfare of their exploiters. But a serf who was compelled to part with both labour and produce to a non-productive lord could never be taught to believe that he was not exploited, that he was a free man, as it has been possible to teach the wage-worker of today. This awkward problem was ingeniously solved by the Catholic clergy, the intellectual and moral guardians of feudalism. They zealously inculcated into the peasantry the idea that the categories king, lord, and serf were of divine ordinance and unalterable, and further, that the present life, with its poverty and riches, is only a preparation for the coming "kingdom of God," where those who had been meek and humble while toiling and suffering "here below," would dwell in happiness "amongst the blest." Such beliefs could, of course, only have been of real social significance and force in an age of "simplicity" such as the medieval period undoubtedly was. Culturally it was, in fact, nothing but a developed barbarism modified by the achievements of Greek and Roman civilisation.

The above outline reveals, then, a function of morality which we have not hitherto touched upon—that of deluding a subject class, of serving as a bulwark of exploitation and oppression. The full development of this, however, yet remains to be considered.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

A LETTER TO IRISH WORKERS.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

"Imagine 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 people and in many cases different families, all huddled together, eating and sleeping and performing the ordinary functions of life in one room! How is it possible for the physical, mental, and moral life of these men, women, and children to be maintained when they are forced to herd together in such awful conditions? The death-rate in Dublin is the highest of the United Kingdom. The infantile death-rate is 200 per 1,000 in Summer Hill and Gardner St. districts, and 220 in Church St. district. In Dublin there are 20,000 houses of one room." This is an extract from an article published in 1914 on the conditions in Dublin. At a sworn housing inquiry in the same city in 1913 Dr. McWalter, a member of the Insurance Committee, stated that about 10,000 families in Dublin were living under unhealthy conditions. Practically two persons out of every five died in institutions or asylums in Dublin, and that was absolutely abnormal. If they had 40 per cent. living in institutions it meant that there were 40 per cent. who could not normally provide for themselves. He had known women who were obliged to live on 3d. a day. In 12 wards the influence of the slum landlord was very strong. He did not think there were more than three or four members of the Corporation who were slum landlords.

The object of these quotations is to contrast the aims and ambitions of the Irish "patriots" with those social and economic conditions in Ireland which it is the ideal of Socialists to abolish in every land cursed with the iniquities of modern capitalism, and the aim of this letter is to show in some slight measure at least that the aims and ambitions of Irish "patriots" are not iden-

tical with the principles and the ideals of international Socialism, and that there is, in fact, no necessary connection between the two things.

Let every British Socialist face the fact that Irish "patriotism" is not Socialism and that the achievement of Irish nationality even up to the highest professed ideals of traditional Irish patriotism, namely, the complete political separation of Ireland from Britain, would not "free Ireland" one iota in any sense satisfactory to the international Socialist and absolutely demanded by Socialist principles. This age-long struggle of Irish "patriots" to "free Ireland" is therefore from the Socialist point of view an utter chimera, which, if it could be achieved, would be to the wretched wage-slaves of Ireland but as the apples of Sodom, fair to the eye, but turning to smoke and ashes when plucked. The international Socialist who happens also to be an Irishman can and does feel profound sympathy with all the struggles of his countrymen, and even their pathetic efforts to achieve the utter futility—from the strictly Socialist point of view—of Home Rule, or of an Irish republic, can excite his pity for their useless sufferings, even though he cannot take part in their misdirected exertions.

It may seem an ungracious thing in some quarters to censure even mildly these efforts of Irishmen considering the sufferings of imprisonment and death which many of them have recently endured; but in the name of humanity—which is a greater name even than that of Irish nationality—let the question be faced: Was it a gracious thing to cause over 1,300 casualties in Dublin in Easter week, many of these being women and children and non-combatants, and that, too, at a time when the world was plunged into the most dreadful and bloody war in all history? And what was it all for? Was it the last desperate effort of outraged men to rescue the wretched slum-dwellers of Dublin from their inhuman dens and provide them with decent habitations and a living wage? Was it to mitigate the lot of the poor Irish agricultural labourer, to save him from the brutal conditions in which he has lived for generations, one of the most abused human creatures in Europe? Whatever answer to such questions might be given by such men as the late James Connolly, it cannot be pretended for one moment that the rank and file of Irishmen who are still willing to fritter away their energies in this age-long race after the will-o'-the-wisp of a "nationality" that would leave them economically where they are, or worse, have any definite aim of striking at the root of Ireland's economic and industrial miseries. There is, on the contrary, abundant evidence to prove that many of them are still completely possessed by all the traditional fury of the traditional "patriot." "Ireland a nation" may conceivably be a high ideal to thousands of Irishmen, but the point to be emphasised here is that it is not a first-class Socialist issue, that it has no direct relation to Socialism, and that there is no satisfactory evidence adduced to show that its realisation under modern capitalism would be of the slightest benefit to the Irish workers.

From the point of view of the international Socialist Home Rule is not worth the bones of one Irish volunteer, an Irish republic of wage-slavery and capitalistic plunder is not worth the bones of one Sinn Féin volunteer, and the maintenance of the legislative union with England is not worth the bones of one Ulster volunteer. No true Irishman who has any real regard for his country and his kind can afford the loss of a single fellow-countryman, whether of Ulster, Munster, Leinster, or Connaught, in these dramatic enterprises concerning things that don't matter a groat for the economic prosperity and happiness of the great masses of the Irish people.

In these bitter days of war, with food prices so abnormal, we have here, in Belfast linen weavers whose average wages are only 15s. a week, and in one of the largest department shops in the city—Robinson & Cleavers—a strike has been going on for many weeks against wages that must mean actual starvation. These wage-slaves have issued a leaflet in which they tell the public that a girl with two years' experience receives only 5s. a week, another with four years' experience 6s. a week, a third with

7 years' experience 9s., and a fourth with eight years' experience receives 9s. 7½d.

Now what in Reason's name had the dramatic follies of Easter week to do with such facts as these? Would a Parliament on College Green abolish these conditions? Would an Irish republic deal drastically with the oppressors of Irish shop-girls? Five years ago a prominent Socialist organ (the "Clarion") described the Irish Parliamentary Party as "a group of old-fashioned politicians of the most commonplace wire-pulling type, while its political influence is a danger to real democracy and a stumbling-block to real reform." Yet this is the party that is struggling to set Ireland "free," while, of course, the opposing group of Irish politicians are struggling equally hard to keep Ireland free and to maintain all the blessings we enjoy under the legislative union with England. Presumably the above-mentioned facts and figures are some of these blessings—our "birthright," as these grotesque humbuggers of the people are fond of calling them! Let it be repeated that to the genuine Socialist neither of these achievements are worth the sacrifice of a single "patriot" belonging to either of the deluded hosts. Nay, poor old deluded, suffering and bleeding Ireland needs all her sons of the North, South, East, and West, not to engage in fratricidal strife at the behest of their political and economic lords and masters—backed by canting theologians, those henchmen of the great everywhere—she needs all her sons on the contrary to unite in one strong bond of loving service for each other, to drop the worn-out slogans and shibboleths of generations dead and gone, and by their goodwill and loving service to living Irishmen and women and little children, overthrow once for all this outrageous tyranny of a dead past.

What, then, ought to be the attitude of genuine Socialists in every part of the United Kingdom who know the truth about these matters? Every convinced and genuine Socialist knows full well the utter futility of trying to work out the salvation of Ireland, or of any other geographical area of the earth's surface inhabited by wage-slaves, by an overthrow of political masters. Every Socialist therefore who knows these things is guilty of a grave offence against any community of fellow workers when he lends countenance and encouragement to what he knows are acts of futility and folly that can only bring suffering upon these misguided men in the event of failure, and complete disillusionment in the event of apparent success.

Let Socialists beware of dealing lightly with their fundamental principles, and let them use every opportunity of teaching the deluded Irish workers what are the true and only means of achieving their real political and economic salvation. No honest, intelligent and conscientious international Socialist can allow himself to indulge in any dishonourable coquetting with Irish revolutionary movements of a merely political character because he knows that no such movements can ever set Ireland truly free. He knows that it is patricidal folly and madness for the Irish workers to take up arms against the English workers, and that even poor Tommy Atkins himself is merely an unfortunate British worker who fled to the army for refuge because he was starved out from hearth and home. In the name of humanity and of sanity let every international Socialist in the United Kingdom have done with the traditional follies and foolishness of Irish politics, whether of Nationalism or of Unionism, whether of Whiggism or of Toryism. Let us bend all our energies to the glorious enterprise of emancipating the workers of these islands from the cruel and bloody chains of modern capitalism, with its wage-slavery and sweated labour at the best, and its idleness and starvation as the oft recurring lot of millions of our toiling and dispossessed brothers and sisters. Every professed Socialist who lends countenance and encouragement to the deluded Irish "rebels" in their vain efforts to "free Ireland" is guilty either of betraying his Socialist principles or he is ignorant of what Socialist principles really are. In the popular phrase he is either a knave or a fool. Now in our great world-wide movement we want neither knaves nor fools, but men and women who believe in their hearts what they profess with their lips, and who are wil-

ling to go forth to achieve and establish their faith by every effective and honourable means. Socialists of this stamp will not hypocritically encourage the deluded Irish workers to dash themselves against the rocks of British militarism for the worthless prize of an "Irish republic" as some so-called Socialist journals are doing at this moment. International Socialists know too much about these "republics," these "lands of the free." We know that they are simply hot-beds of capitalist competition, knavery, and plunder, and that the only freedom they give the workers is the freedom to wear themselves out in producing surplus-value, and after that to die in the nearest ditch and make way for a fresh batch of deluded victims.

Our solemn word to Irish wage-slaves is, let them use their remaining strength to shake off the leeches of capitalism that are sucking their life blood instead of hastening their destruction in a mad effort to set up Tweedledum in place of Tweedledee. Let them beware of "republics."

THOS. BROWN.

AMMUNITION FROM THE ENEMY.

O.O.

Though the Reports of the Commissioners who have been enquiring into the Causes of Industrial Unrest have now been issued nearly four months, a suitable opportunity has not previously presented itself for making any reference thereto or extracts therefrom. Suffice it to say, therefore, that any delay in the matter is of small moment, for practically all the information contained in the reports is merely of a confirmatory and documentary nature emphasising what the Socialist propagandist has been stating for a considerable period.

The quotations which follow are taken from the Report of the Commissioners for the North-Western Area, including a Supplemental Report on the Barrow-in-Furness District (Cd. 8663, price 1d.). We are obliged to the enemy for this further consignment of ammunition which we here and now place in the Socialist "dump" to be ready to hand when needed.

In the early part of the Report the Commissioners set out by stating (par. 10): "We desire to preface our observations by saying that we have directed our enquiries to causes of immediate unrest in the local area. The basic social and historical aspects of Industrial Unrest are not matters that we consider we can usefully discuss. In setting out these local causes we do not pretend to have decided that in fact the complaints we refer to are well founded, but we have endeavoured to report faithfully what working men and women have told us is troubling their minds." The Commissioners are to be commended for their frankness contained in the utterance "The basic social and historical aspects of Industrial Unrest are not matters that we consider we can usefully discuss." Of course not: they have not come to bury capitalism, but to endeavour to give it a further lease of life.

In par. 11. we read that: "Industrial Unrest is no new thing. Mr. A. A. Purcell, President of the Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, declared that it was not caused by the war, but that it had been greatly aggravated and intensified by war conditions. The Rev. Canon Peter Green, who has lived and worked for twenty-five years among the poorer class of workers in London, and now for fifteen years in the Greengate and Islington districts of Salford, tells us that for many years before the war there had been a discontent among skilled and unskilled workers alike.

"They do not see," he says, "why their hours should be so long, and their wages so small, their lives so dull and colourless, and their opportunities of reasonable rest and recreation so few"; and he asks, "Can we wonder that with growing education and intelligence the workers of England are beginning to contrast their lot with that of the rich and to ask whether so great inequalities are necessary?"

The paragraph concludes by stating that the "main causes of unrest, which no Government can allay, arise from human selfishness in all classes, a narrow outlook on the possibilities of

co-operation, and forgetfulness of the golden rule to do unto others as you would be done by"; and further hints at the advantages to be derived from the adoption of a system of welfare work.

Passing over the portion devoted to leaving certificates, some concessions having been made on this point, we come to a significant admission in par. 15, which states: "At the same time, although the atmosphere of the area is patriotic the long continuance of the war has certainly brought about an altered feeling. Men begin to ask themselves whether the sacrifices they are making are really necessary. They chafe under the restraints upon individual liberty, and are made angry at the high cost of living."

Under the heading "Condition of the Cotton Trade" the following illuminating passage occurs, which shows up the ineptitude of some of the local tribunals dealing with exemption from military service.

[Par. 18.] The representatives of the Operative Spinners' Amalgamation reported a grievance in connection with the working of the Military Service Acts, which merits the consideration of the authorities. Many of their members, working as spinners, coming within the scope of the Certified Occupation List, and who held exemption certificates, are being informed in many cases by local tribunals that exemption can only be continued on their enrolling in Volunteer Training Corps. It should be remembered in this connection that the atmosphere of a spinning room in a cotton mill ranges from 70 to 100 degrees, that the spinner is scantily attired and works in bare feet. In the course of a day's work, the character of which necessitates constant walking about, a spinner will walk on the average from 15 to 20 miles. It is contended by the operatives' representatives that after a day's work under these conditions the spinner is not fit to engage in military drill. Representative employers agree with this view, and express the hope that something will be done to meet an undoubted grievance.

Considerable space is devoted to the Ship-building trade, and the question of foodstuffs and prices in relation to wages stands out above all others. The Commissioners say (par. 25): "The business proposition, as we understand it, is that the Government should undertake the full control of all necessary foodstuffs, in which we include milk and domestic coal, and that they must understand that the people will expect them henceforth to control the supply and deliver the goods. If they fail to do this there will not only be unrest before the winter, but something much worse; nor can we honestly say that the frame of mind of the working classes is altogether hopeful about the position. They grumble a great deal, and not without reason, about the result of Government control in the matter of sugar. They consider, rightly or wrongly, that their interests in this matter have been neglected, and it has been put to us that the real value of the experiment of sugar control in relation to the distribution of sugar to working-class households is an example of how not to do it. It is certain that in the future, if bread and flour and coal and milk are to be controlled and distributed as sugar has been controlled in the past, it will be disastrous. We have gone very seriously into the question of sugar control, which has been in existence since 1915, treating it as a working example of Government control over a necessary foodstuff. The question we have asked ourselves is, how far this has been satisfactory to the working classes, and we regret to say that they are of opinion that their interests have not been adequately safeguarded by those in authority."

Continuing the same theme one would quote the following (pars 27 and 28): "... But our outlook on the matter is confined to the consideration of how far the control of sugar has been satisfactory from the point of view of domestic households, and we feel bound to report that the method of distribution to the workers and their women and children has been a cause of unrest."

"Nor can we wonder at it when we hear their story face to face, and try to put ourselves in their place. Their position is this. A working woman with young children wants to obtain a ration of sugar, which she reads in the news paper the Government says she ought to have. She hunts from shop to shop to get it, and she is very often refused. ... The belief among many working people is that rich people receive it and poor people do not. This is pro-

bably incorrect, but the belief exists, and obviously it is a cause of unrest. When the husband returns from long hours of labour, and he hears the complaints of his wife, he is naturally indignant, and blames the Government for not carrying out their widely advertised promises. Now, if you multiply this picture in thousands of working class homes, you have a cause of dissatisfaction and unrest which has been going on for a considerable time in this area, and it has surprised us that the authorities have not discovered this, and done something to enquire into the working of their system, and to better it. If during the coming winter other necessities of life are controlled and distributed in a like manner the position would, in our opinion, become exceedingly dangerous."

On the subject of discontent (referred to by employers and workmen) brought about by contradictory orders and directions which are sent out from different departments the Commissioners say (par. 42): "We ourselves have not been without experience of what they mean."

On one occasion we received a notification from the Treasury calling upon us to cancel our advertisements, and on another we were informed by the Stationery Office officials in Manchester, who were within a few doors of our headquarters there, that they had been instructed by their London office to refuse us further assistance. These blunders were promptly set right by Mr. Hodgson, but it involved our wiring to London, and putting before Mr. Barnes petty details about which he ought not to have been troubled. Moreover, if we had acted on the Treasury instructions and cancelled our advertisements in Barrow, we should ourselves have been a cause of unrest there. We cannot understand how it is that officials in London, who must be assumed to have known that we had received express orders to carry out our duties with all possible speed, are permitted to interfere with our carrying out those instructions by putting "grit in the wheel."

Regarding the question of promoting peace in the industrial world, the following pronouncement is indeed interesting (pars. 46 and 47): "It is at least interesting that three men of widely different experiences agree with absolute unanimity that what is at the bottom of the trouble is that Governments have relied too much on the aid of judges, tribunals, and officialdom, guided by cast iron rules and orders, with the sanction of police force at their back."

"... there is no doubt that one cause of labour unrest is that workmen have come to regard the promises and pledges of Parliaments and Government Departments with suspicion and distrust. Many an instance has been put before us of what seemed on the face of it to be a clear announcement amounting to a distinct promise, which has afterwards been interpreted by judges and officials to be something quite otherwise. It was painful to hear the common use of the phrase 'a scrap of paper' so constantly used by working men in describing what they felt about Government promises."

Under the heading Local Administration of the Military Service Acts there is much food for thought. Particularly noteworthy are the observations in pars 63 and 64, where we read: "We find that there are many complaints that Government promises made to the people by Ministers in Parliament have not been kept. They say that the Government word was given that national registration would not be used for military conscription, that the widow's only son would not be taken for the Army, that rejected men would be allowed to settle down to work or business and not be called up again, that conscientious objectors, some of whom in this area are trade unionists, would be entitled to exemption that they have not received, and that businesses built up by one individual should receive consideration from the tribunals that has been denied to them."

"With regard to men who have fought for their country and been discharged, the feeling is very strong throughout the area that in calling them up again there is a breach of faith, and that the methods by which it has been done were wanting in humanity and common-sense. The Government having set up a Special Commission to consider these matters, it is unnecessary for us to report the details which

have been brought to our notice, and we have in all cases advised men who have stated their grievances to us—and we may say that we feel these were very real grievances—to report them without delay to the Commissioners who are now sitting."

In the Supplemental Report for Barrow-in-Furness District the seamy side of industrial life was brought to light, and the disgusting revelations were of such a nature as to shock the Commissioners.

Under the heading of The Housing Problem they state that they found a most unsatisfactory state of things, and go on to add (pars. 6 and 7): "But for the fact that Barrow lies in a very isolated position and that it is considered inadvisable to inform the public through the medium of the Press of many of the evil conditions of industrial life, we cannot believe that the facts we propose to set down could so long have remained actual conditions of domestic life in England in the twentieth century. We had no power to examine witnesses from London as to why no remedy had been attempted, nor do we desire to lay any blame upon officials for what has happened and is still happening. The fault lies, of course, in the centralisation in a corner of the South of England of the only people who have any power to set things right, and their ignorance of the problems they are supposed to deal with. The witnesses from whose evidence we quote a few statements were not drawn from any one class, and indeed no decent person who understands the conditions of housing in Barrow could do anything but condemn them. One who thoroughly understands these conditions made a report to us at once when we were first appointed. 'I put,' he writes, 'the housing question in the forefront. For the majority of the workers here, there is no home life. In some instances the wife is engaged on munition work, but in the majority of cases she is occupied with looking after lodgers. The housing question is acute. The number of beds occupied by night and day on the Box and Cox principle is very high and runs into thousands. The married man returns home to find his wife cleaning up for the lodgers and his own meal not ready—in fact with children, lodgers and husband the wife has her hands full—with the result that one or other is neglected, and naturally becomes dissatisfied. Also I would point to the very inadequate provision for maternity cases. In many homes it is impossible to deal with them, at any rate with decency. Cases have been brought to my notice where nine persons have lived in one room, sixteen in one small house, and a bedroom is occupied by two grown-up sisters and their two brothers, 16 and 17 years of age. The alteration in the train service and the reduction in the number of trains has made the housing question even more acute, in consequence of the withdrawal of trains to and from Ulverston, people in business have had to come and live in Barrow, as otherwise they could not have got to work in time.'"

"Mr. Councillor C. G. B. Ellison, J.P., gave us the following instances within his own knowledge of bad housing conditions which require no comment from your Commissioners:

- (1) Wife five weeks off confinement. Husband working on munitions. They were given notice to leave their apartments. A fortnight after they were refused admittance, and their belongings were put in the back yard, and they were told to take them away and clear off.
- (2) House was sold over the people's heads, and they had to go into a one-room apartment. Six children, one working. The mother was confined in this one room.
- (3) Married woman working on munitions until shortly before confinement. Husband fighting in France. Landlady could not do with her over confinement, as she had other lodgers. The mother tried to get a fresh lodgings in Barrow, but no one would take her in as she was expecting confinement. She finally had to go to some friends in the South of England.
- (4) A woman was confined in Barrow recently in one room, in which were a husband, one child, and a man lodger.
- (5) Father and mother and eight children, two of whom, a boy and a girl, were over 17 years of age all living in one room. The mother was confined of the ninth child in this same room.
- (6) Husband in France fighting. Wife expecting confinement. Told she must leave the apartments. Offered 25s. a week to be taken elsewhere, but was refused. Had to leave the town.
- (7) Husband on munitions earning good wages.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

192, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Memberships obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Suns. 4.30

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette Street, Hackney, N.E.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 95 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—All communications to Secy., W. Torr, 111 West Park St., Salford. Branch meets Sundays at 3, at the United Garment Workers' Office, 59 New Bridge St., Victoria Station, Cheetham.

MARYLEBONE. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

NOTTINGHAM.

PECKHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, c/o S. Ray, Newsagent and Tobacconist, 6, Philip Road, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 5 Wellington Ave., Westcliffe-on-Sea.

TOOTING.—All communications to be addressed to Secy., branch rooms. Branch meets at 100 Upper Tooting Rd., alternate Thursdays from August 9th at 7.30 p.m.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badliis-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

No place for the wife to be confined. Guardians had to take her into the workhouse. Husband paid the Guardians for her maintenance.

Those who desire to continue this sordid story of Christian civilisation would do well to obtain a copy for themselves. The Commissioners terminate their report with the following:

We cannot but believe that if in the different departments Joint Works Committees dealing with detailed matters connected with the industry were to be set up, it would be a message of hope to those who are rightly dissatisfied with their conditions. Many a sensible young man who now thinks that the only hope of betterment for himself and his class lies in the spreading of advanced doctrines would understand how far more useful he would be to himself and his fellow men by taking a seat on the Shop Committee and doing direct work in improving the conditions of the Shop. We think that what is driving many well-meaning enthusiasts into very extreme propaganda is the hopeless feeling that they have no place or voice in the management of the work they are doing, and that the only way in which they can assert their knowledge and individuality is by promoting disorder and thereby calling the attention of the authorities to things which all reasonable men agree are wrong.

S. W. T.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

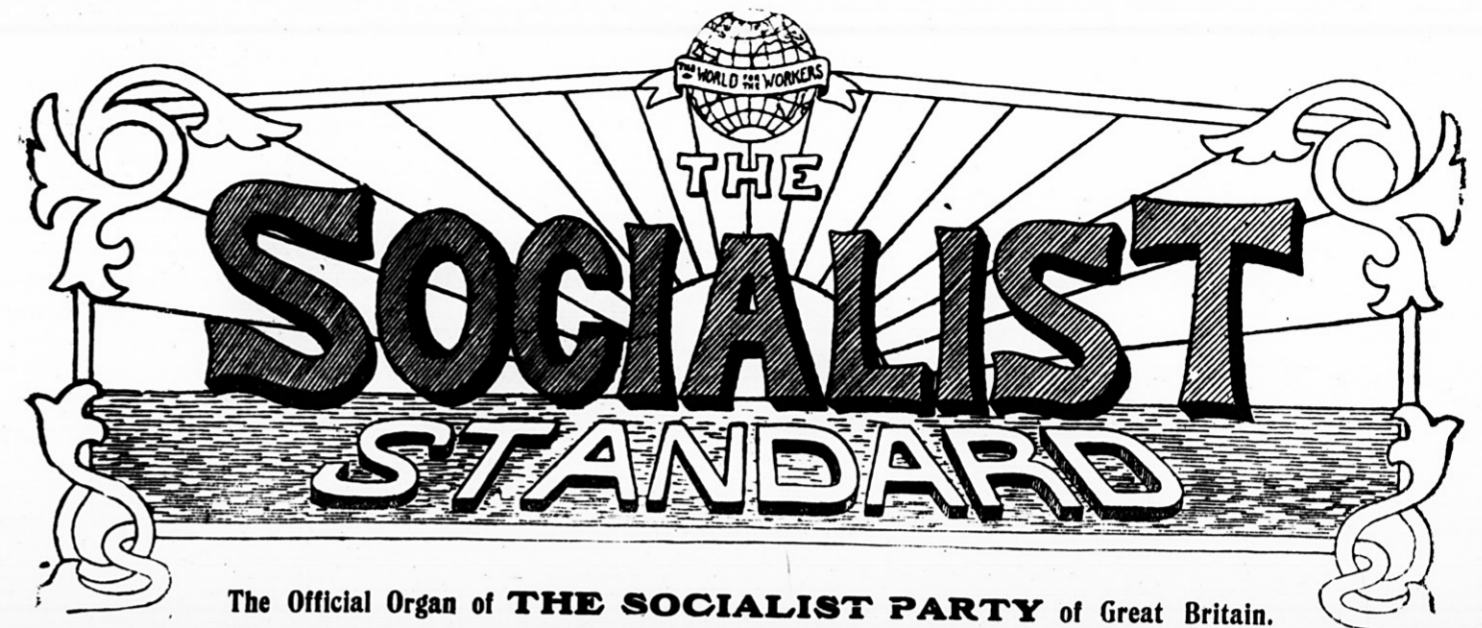
OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

S.L.P. ANCHORS DRAGGING.

A REVIEW.

"THE STATE: ITS ORIGIN AND FUNCTION,"
by Wm. Paul. Socialist Labour Press, Renfrew-
st., Glasgow. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

Historians in the past have made many attempts to discover and state what may be called the driving force or dynamic factor behind the various changes that have taken place in Society. As Lafargue has so well pointed out in his essay on "Marx's Historical Method," Vici, the Neapolitan historian, was one of the first to seek for this factor in man's material conditions. Guizot was of the opinion that it was the development of man's intellect that formed this driving force, though he failed to show on what this development was based. Buckle, in his valuable "History of Civilisation in England," laid greatest stress on the climatic and geographical conditions of Society as being the factors of social change, failing to see how much more rapidly societies change than do climatic or geographical conditions.

The key to the riddle was supplied by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who, independently, arrived at the same conclusion—that it was the economic development that formed the driving force behind social development, culminating in the changes in the forms of Society.

A brief summary of their discovery is given in the preface to Marx's "Critique of Political Economy," while the famous "Communist Manifesto," the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," and the pamphlets on the "Civil War in France in 1871" are splendid examples of the application of the theory—or use of the tool, as Lafargue would say—by its discoverers.

In America, apparently without any knowledge of Marx's and Engel's work, a famous ethnologist, working from a different standpoint, reached substantially the same conclusion. This scientist was Lewis Henry Morgan, whose great work, "Ancient Society," solved the riddle of tribal organisation, throwing a flood of light on the early forms of Society, and tracing the path of social development to the birth of so-called civilisation.

The great theory which was formulated by these three investigators, and which is known as the "Materialist Conception of History," is more and more being adopted by modern historians and economists, often without real acknowledgment, as in the case of Loria in his "Economic Foundations of Society," or even with sneers at Marx, as in the case of J. A. Hobson.

To take this theory and use it for the purpose of explaining and tracing the development of one of the features of Society is, of course, quite legitimate, provided the work is done with sufficient care to prevent confusion arising in the minds of its readers. The book now under review is an attempt to use the Materialist Conception of History for the purpose of ex-

plaining and tracing the development of one social institution called by the author "The State." Some objection could be taken to the use of this title, but we may let this pass in face of the greater objections which exist to other parts of the book.

Whether due to the present world-war or to other reasons there is a good deal of slipshod and even slovenly work in the 200 pages of this volume. Thus the method of placing the titles of the books referred to in the text at the end of each chapter is an awkward one and could only be excused if long extracts were being given in the form of an appendix. Worse than this, however, is the author's practice of quoting a statement from a work, often consisting of 700 or 800 pages, and giving the title only as a reference. There is no excuse for this slipshod method.

This carelessness or worse is further illustrated in the uncritical recommendations given to certain works referred to in this book. Professor Jenk's statement that "Ancient Society" will ultimately be recognised as one of the great scientific products of the Nineteenth Century is quoted on page 9, and then Mr. Paul says: "of no less importance is the 'Origin of the Family' by F. Engels" (italics mine).

Engels himself would be the first to deny this absurd claim. Morgan's work is an original volume, the result of immense research covering 40 years' labours, and is one of the great epoch-making discoveries of the human race. Engels' little volume was intended as a summary, with some additional observations, for the use of those to whom Morgan's work was inaccessible. A partial analogy may be found in the case of another epoch-making work of the 19th century. Far and away the best summary of Marx's great work "Capital" is the little volume by Marx himself entitled "Value, Price, and Profit." Here the essentials of "Capital" are stated in simple language which, later, assists the worker to grasp the detailed working out of the larger volume. But here the analogy ceases. "Capital" is written in rigid scientific language, often in mathematical form, that is difficult for the beginner to follow and understand. Hence the usefulness of "Value, Price, and Profit" in stating simply the main propositions. "Ancient Society," on the other hand, is written in simple language and in a clear and unaffected style that enables the beginner to follow the arguments with a minimum of trouble. The "Origin of the Family" does not—as indeed it could not—present the case in any simpler way.

Another instance is given on page 16 where we are told "for a detailed history of marriage in the past and present the famous book of Bebel's on 'Woman Under Socialism' is indispensable."

Two editions of this work have appeared in the English language. The first, published

many years ago by Reeves and Co., London, under the title "Woman in the Past, Present, and Future," drew an apology from the Avelings for the historical and other errors it contained. This appeared in their pamphlet "Woman." The other edition in English is the translation by Mr. De Leon, of America, of the 23rd German edition, and is the one referred to by Mr. Paul. Here some of the old errors are removed, but new ones are incorporated both of historical judgment and social development. The translator himself had to make some corrections to the text in long footnotes. Generally Bebel's "Woman" is ill-balanced and far from being scientifically based, and it lends a larger amount of support to the "Suffragette" notion that the position of women is due to the "wickedness" of man than it does to the Marxian position of class oppression.

A further instance of this slovenliness on the part of Mr. Paul, and one that would greatly confuse the beginner are the various meanings attributed to the word "State." On page 1 it is implied that the "State" is a "social institution specially devised to perform some social function." On page 100 Mr. Paul says "legality means not the interest of Society but rather the interest of the State, i.e., of the dominant class," while on page 108 we read "the making and administration of Law is an important function of the executive committee of the ruling class—the State." So the State is first a "social institution," then it becomes "the dominant class" itself, and afterwards it is "the executive committee" of that class. Such loose and faulty methods, however, become absolutely ridiculous when one reads the bombastic statement made in the introduction: "Social science, like every branch of science, uses terms which must be clearly defined. . . . While, therefore, a clear comprehension of terms is scientifically imperative, it would seem that many dabbles in social science do not realise that grave dangers may arise by confusing the minds of the workers regarding the nature and function of social institutions." (Page VI.) How completely these latter terms fit their own case is shown by the quotations given.

But the most blatantly idiotic claim in the book appears on page 198, where it is said that Mr. De Leon's pamphlet, the "Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World," is "a work equally epoch-making as the 'Communist Manifesto.'" To compare De Leon's anti-political and painfully laboured attempt at a defence of the nonsense of Industrial Unionism with the world-famous work of Marx and Engels shows the shallow ignorance and blind hero-worship of one who could pen such drivel.

Among the minor points requiring correction may be mentioned the ignoring of the work done during the periods of Theseus and Draco the last of whom is credited with having been the

first to establish written laws) in ancient Athens, that made possible the changes brought about under Solon and Kleisthenes. The work done during these periods was of great importance as being initial steps towards the complete change.

A similar criticism applies to the section on Rome, where the necessary preliminary developments were carried through during the period of the reputed reign of Romulus—when the first hereditary aristocracy was founded—and of Numa Pompilius.

In both these cases it would be absurd to suppose that such large and fundamental changes could have taken place as those attributed to Solon and Kleisthenes in the one case and Servius Tullius in the other, without previous stages having been passed through. Moreover, the over-estimate of the work of these men, by ignoring the essential steps of their predecessors, tends to keep alive in the minds of the workers who are beginners in this subject, the false notion that "great men" make history (thereby encouraging the following of leaders) that the work of Vico, Marx, Morgan, and Spencer has done so much to disprove.

Of a different type is the statement in a footnote on page 112 where, referring to Eugene Sue's "The History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," it is said: "For rescuing this monumental work from the despoiling hands of the Church and the hiring intellectuals of Capitalism the S.L.P. deserves great credit."

As Mr. Paul's book is issued by the S.L.P. of Scotland the reader unacquainted with the facts would naturally assume the S.L.P. in this footnote referred to that organisation. The truth is that the Sue novels referred to were translated by Mr. De Leon of the American S.L.P.

A further instance of slipshod work appears on page 169 when the author is dealing with the invention of the steam engine. He says:

"This new and powerful driving force was able to drive the tool or machine—a machine being simply a complex tool working at an extraordinary speed!" (Italics mine.)

The finest explanation and definition of a machine occurs in Marx's "Capital," chapter 15, in the part dealing with "Machinery and Modern Industry." Section 1 reads almost like a romance, and is packed with information. Only a couple of passages can be quoted here. On page 366 Marx says:

"Mathematicians and mechanicians, and in this they are followed by a few English economists, call a tool a simple machine" (as Mr. Paul does on page 2) "and a machine a complex tool. They see no essential difference between them and even give the name machine to the simple mechanical powers of the lever, the inclined plane, the screw, the wedge, etc. As a matter of fact every machine is a combination of those simple powers, no matter how they may be disguised. From the economical standpoint this explanation is worth nothing because the historical element is wanting."

And on page 368 Marx gives his own definition in that masterly fashion of his that shows the whole matter in the clearest light. After describing the parts played by the motor mechanism and the transmitting gear he says:

The machine proper is therefore a mechanism that, after being set in motion, performs with its tools the same operations that were formerly done by the workman with similar tools. Whether the motive power is derived from man, or from some other machine, makes no difference in this respect. From the moment that the tool proper is taken from the worker's hand, and fitted into a mechanism, a machine takes the place of a mere implement.

A comparison of the above quotations with Mr. Paul's confused and inaccurate definition of a machine shows how little either he or the S.L.P., who are responsible for the production of the book, understand even the simpler portions of Marx's writings, despite their bombastic claim in the introduction quoted above.

As this book is issued by the S.L.P. of Scotland with a special "benediction" in the introduction, it is fair to assume that it represents the views and policy of the Executive Committee of that body. If that is so then we are treated to a complete somersault in the policy that organisation has been advocating, with variations, for about twelve years. In 1905 the Executive Committee of the S.L.P., without in any way consulting the membership of the party, endorsed and adopted as a policy the position of the Industrial Workers of the World, which

had been formed in Chicago in June, 1905. Since then it has in various, and often contradictory, ways attempted to defend the claims of the I.W.W. that the workers by organising into industrial unions—one for each industry—could "take and hold the means of production." They claimed that the industrial unions furnished the "might" to carry through the revolution; that it was the economic organisation that supplied "the power" lacking in the political party, and so on.

How an economic organisation could "take and hold the means of production" while the capitalist class had control of the armed forces was a question neither the S.L.P. nor the other Industrialists were ever able to answer. They simply wandered from one absurdity to another in the endeavour to dodge this—to them—fatal question. The endless contradictions and quibbles they have been led into by the catch phrases as "The economic is the basis of the political"; "The political is the reflex of the economic"; "The economic organisation will cast its own political shadow," etc., etc., have been dealt with in the SOCIALIST STANDARD on numerous occasions.

But now comes this volume which flatly contradicts all these years' teachings and takes up the position that the working class must seize political power in order to abolish capitalism.

Q. Its early in the book this position begins to take form, as on page 41 we read:

Throughout history the State has slightly changed its form but its role as the weapon of despotism in the hands of the economically and politically dominant class has remained unchanged. It is able to enforce its will upon those who oppose it, because behind its demands it has the organised armed forces of the Society. (Italics mine.)

Referring to the Civil War of 1644 it is stated: "The revolutionaries by their control of the political machine were able to use the rents of the Royal estates; the levies placed upon the goods secretly bought by the cavaliers, and the taxes gathered up and down the country to defeat the Crown." (Page 151. Italics mine.)

But it is in the last two chapters that this position—so long sneered at by the S.L.P.—is stated in its most complete form. In the chapter on "Modern Capitalism" we read:

The State has behind every mandate it promulgates the armed force of the nation. It is this power which enforces the will of the ruling class. (P. 190.)

While in the chapter on "Revolutionary Socialism" occurs the following remarkable statement—remarkable, that is, coming from the S.L.P.:

In order to facilitate the work of the industrial organisation, it is absolutely imperative for the workers to disarm the capitalist class by wrenching from it its power over the political State. The State powers include the armed forces of the nation which may be turned against the revolutionary workers. The political weapon of Labour, by destroying the capitalist control of the State makes possible a peaceful social revolution. But in order to tear the State out of the grasp of the ruling class the workers' political organisation must capture the political machinery of capitalism. (Page 198.)

This complete reversal of a policy followed for about twelve years is simply staggering. It is a full confession not only that the S.L.P. has been wrong all this time—a fact we have proved over and over again in the pages of the SOCIALIST STANDARD and in debate—but also that the S.P.G.B. has been right in its attitude and correct in its policy throughout its existence.

When the S.P.G.B. was formed in 1904 it laid down one aim—Socialism. It drew up a Declaration of Principles that has solidly withstood all attacks from every quarter. Paragraph 6 of that declaration states:

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

We now have the S.L.P., in the pages of this book, taking up an attitude that corresponds completely with the above clause of our Declaration of Principles. Has it taken this world-war,

with its terrific maiming and slaughter, to drive the simple but fundamental fact into their minds that it is control of the political machinery that is the essential factor in the domination of Society? What have the members of the S.L.P. to say to this complete change of policy? Does it represent the considered view of the members? or is it another example of the E.C. of that body laying down its own policy, in exact opposition to one preached for so many years, without any authority or mandate from the membership? Do the members understand and accept this new situation, and if so how can they justify the retention of their membership in the S.L.P.?

Nor is this the only change in the policy of the S.L.P., though it is by far the most important. In addition to the claim that the Industrial Union furnished the "might" and "power" to overthrow capitalism, the S.L.P. claimed that these unions were the "embryo" of the Socialist Republic; that they provided the "framework" or "skeleton" of Socialism.

This silly and childish "Utopianism" the absurdity of which we exposed long ago, would hardly require notice here but for the change of attitude that is now adopted. To lay down here and now the details of what the organisation of production will be under Socialism is on a par with Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

In the first place we have no means of knowing at what particular step in the development of capitalist production and methods a sufficient number of the working class will be converted to Socialism to carry through the revolution. The details of the economic organisation must depend upon the particular stage of development at that period. Moreover, the majority of the working class will then be Socialists—otherwise the attempt at revolution will be a fiasco—and they will have the requisite knowledge and ability to construct their economic organisation in conformity with the conditions then prevailing. It is, therefore, easy to see how foolish is the attempt to settle now the details of an organisation that will be called upon to act then.

Even when the I.W.W. was first launched we pointed out that capitalism then was outgrowing the "Industrial" sub-division and large combinations of capitalists were controlling whole groups of industries. The increase of this factor that has since taken place—and which looks as though it will extend still faster under the form of National and Municipal control as a result of the war—adds further strength to this point.

In addition it has to be remembered that economic organisations formed now have to fight the battles of wages and conditions of employment now. But to do so with any hope of success they must enrol as many as possible of workers in the particular businesses they are dealing with. This means the enrolment of Socialists (a small number of the workers at present) along with the passive and active anti-Socialists, all in the same union. This fact shows the utter impossibility of forming a Socialist economic organisation until a majority of the workers in a particular occupation have been converted to Socialism. Hence the farcical failure of the various attempts to form "Industrial Unions" before a sufficient number of the workers have accepted these particular teachings.

In the book now under review the question of Industrial Unionism takes so subordinate a place and is so watered down, compared with the former claims of the S.L.P., that if the term "Industrial Unionism" were left out the ordinary reader of the "Socialist" would fail to recognise this attitude as being the one taken up by the S.L.P. How much has been given up the following quotation will show:

We see, therefore, that the function of the future administration of society will be industrial. The constructive element in the social revolution will be the action of the Industrial Union seizing the means of production in order to administer the wants of the community.

True to the dictum of social science, that the embryo of the future social system must be nourished within the womb of the old system, the revolutionary Socialist movement sets out to build up within capitalism the industrial organisation of the workers which will carry on the administrative work under Socialism on behalf of the community. Thus Industrial Unionism is the constructive weapon in the coming social revolution. (Pages 197-8.)

This very general and greatly modified exposition of the S.L.P.'s claims for Industrial Unionism shows how far they have come—implicitly, at any rate—to admit the correctness of our attitude on economic organisation. What the title of the future economic organisation will be is really guess-work now and is only of small importance, though the misleading, anti-Socialist, and Utopian associations covered by the term "Industrial Unionism" will certainly go far to discredit it in the minds of the workers as they become Socialists. Much more educational work requires to be done, however, before such an organisation can be started, for it is only as the workers learn that they are slaves, and clearly grasp that the essential factor in their emancipation is the control of political power, that they will build up the Socialist organisations, political and economic, necessary for the establishment of Socialism.

The nucleus of the political organisation exists now in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. The economic organisation cannot be started until numbers fulfilling the conditions laid down above have been converted to Socialism. J. FITZGERALD.

DOORMATS.

—O—

The present sanguinary struggle caused by rival groups of the master class, and their orgy of rampant militarism, has shown one thing clearly at least. It has shown that men who, in pre-war times, were wage-slaves, display—in fighting for their masters' interests—courage, often of a most conspicuous kind. Had they, as wage-slaves, before they were compelled to be warriors, but shown as much courage in fighting collectively for their own interests perhaps they could have averted the present world-catastrophe!

For the fact remains that moral courage, and that of the physical kind, are different brands in every way. Physical courage on the battlefield is very common. Moral courage amongst the wage-slaves of industry in asserting their "rights," or in other words in striving to advance their own class interests, is often conspicuously absent.

Capitalism, no doubt, is responsible for the present abject docility of the masses. The latter will put up with—anything! Capitalism has kept most of them ignorant and slavish, and has crushed the best out of them. We see the workers cringing as wage-slaves, and in the role of slave-warriors defending their masters' interests, brave to excess. O Irony!

They are apparently quite satisfied to serve the ruling class as doormats!

Now a doormat is a very useful and generally despised article. It accumulates dust and dirt which others want to dispose of. It lies there ready for use! In fact it is indispensable!

The Uriah Heep attitude is a very prevalent one. "I'm so 'umble" is the obvious mental state of many. The workers, if they but realised it, are all-powerful. Nothing can withstand their concerted efforts. They collectively, with complete class-conscious solidarity and organisation, can effect their own emancipation. The goal is Socialism, and the capture of the machinery of government will place the key of emancipation in their hands.

At present we are being spoon-fed with specifics for "Industrial Unrest." We are dosed with "soothing syrups" to allay the "present discontents" and establish "harmonious relations between Capital and Labour" (the latter is always spelt with a capital "L" in the capitalist Press now-a-days). We read thus: "Olive Branch to Labour." "Workers invited to share in government of Industry."

The period of the war has seen a greater enslavement than before of the workers. Trade union rights and customs have been waved aside; Free Speech (so-called) has been denied us; the limited Liberty of the Press is a thing of the past. We have been registered and ticketed; our homes have been broken up by a ruthless militarism, and the sinister hands of industrial and military conscription are seen restlessly working everywhere. To crown these triumphs of capitalistic effort we find our "democratic" politicians allowing the profiteers

to plunder us systematically, explaining with sh-er effrontery that it is simply a matter of obeying the laws of supply and demand.

We are told to "Wait and see." One Food Controller follows another, but the plunder by the food brigands goes uncontrolled. And all the time we are told that we are fighting for "right and liberty."

The present colossal war, which, big as it is, is but an episode in the bloody history of capitalism, has dragged ruthlessly on for three years. Over 50 million men have been swept into the fratricidal arenas to slay each other at their masters' behest, and for capitalist interests alone. Over 10 million men are dead; 12 millions maimed for life—one Titanic devastation!

The rival groups of money-mongers, scoundrelly speculators, financiers and "captains of industry"—whose machinations started this ruinous war—are still free to prolong it! Little attempt has been made by the peoples of Europe to get at the root of the trouble. Perhaps nothing but a "victorious conclusion" after repeated "big pushes" and "offensives"—the crushing of an opposing militarism by sheer force, with terrific losses to the crushers themselves—will ever teach some people the futility of this damnable war.

Meanwhile it proceeds unchecked. Militarism springs up to crush militarism; but let us not forget that this is the "War to end War"! "There must be no next time," our masters say. After this orgy comes the "Golden Age," "Social Reconstruction" is the next item on the Capitalists' agenda. Labour is to have a glorious time. Lloyd George wants Labour to be, as he says, "audacious." May Labour take him at his word!

But capitalist politicians are for ever prattling, and it all means treachery to their working-class dupes. What have they done to check the profiteer? What can we ever expect them to do, since we know that their interests as masters and ours as workers are diametrically opposed? Let us answer that, for that is of paramount importance. It is the crux of the whole question.

If we have a capitalist government we must expect capitalist legislation, and for the interest of CAPITAL ALONE. The workers have long ago given their masters a blank cheque; they have left it to their rulers to dispose of their lives and liberties. The ruling class act on the knowledge that the workers will take things lying down. The profound and growing contempt of the ruling class for the masses is apparent to all who can see. Unfortunately so many of the workers seem to wear mental blinkers; they see only what is pointed out to them by the capitalist Press, which hides whatever it can of political and economic truth.

Anything which is subversive to the present regime is a dangerous theory! Socialist literature is designated "poisonous," and the finest, and perfectly practicable, programme of Marxists is styled "nebulous" and "nonsensical."

And those of the workers whose thinking is done for them by "Daily Mail" hired scribes become steeped in the philosophy that well becomes docile and industrious slaves of capital. They scorn the idea of there being a Class War or class interests, and forget that just previous to this business war their masters got together a fighting fund of 50 million pounds to smash trade unionism in Great Britain!

The workers as a class do not think anything like enough of themselves. They are fundamentally all important. The parasitic upper class consider they have an inalienable right to abundance of leisure, liberty, and luxury. What do we, the workers, the wealth producers of the world, think about it? Answer that, and according as you answer you proclaim yourselves freemen or slaves in thought.

Think as the capitalist Press tries to persuade you to, and the result is an arrested development of mentality.

Think for yourselves! Study Socialism, and the all-important interest of YOUR OWN CLASS, the working class. It is the refusal to scrap obsolete ideas, and to accept new ones, that keep back the steps of progress.

"Reconstruction," with a menace of even greater slavery, is looming ahead. You as a class can alone effect any reconstruction that

benefit you—a reconstruction founded on your emancipation. Enough have you had of the wage-slavery institution, without any "reconstruction" thereof to strengthen its tottering walls and lengthen its evil days. Get together! Organise for the capture of the powers of government! That is the key to your destiny!

Socialism can, and will, only be brought about by the efforts of organised, class-conscious workers. The socialisation of all the means of production must be your goal. Control of the political machinery will alone realise for you those splendid desires on behalf of an enslaved humanity.

You might be masters of the world did you but know it. Leisure and liberty, world-wide peace and undreamt of happiness and prosperity will be yours only by the establishment of SOCIALISM. G.

THE WASTE OF WAR.

—O—

A point often overlooked by the man-in-the-street is the connection of war with waste. A list of figures covering the cost of the war day by day conveys little to the layman's mind. Parliamentarians give you these statistics freely, that you may be beguiled into sacrificing your mite on the altar of War. Not that the combined savings of all the working class would maintain the war for a single day, but it tends to instil into their minds the illusion that they are doing something for "their country."

War is absolute waste of men, material, and brain power. The question is not concerned with any supposed "rights." The fact is—just allow this point to sink into your mind—war is absolute waste.

Since August 1914 practically all advances in science have been in connection with war. Eminent men have devoted their faculties to the solving of the problem of defeating the submarine menace. Others have given their time and energies to the production of new chemical compounds for the greater slaughter of the "enemy." Inventors concentrate upon means of destruction. A huge man-of-war, involving the labour of thousands of men and women for many months, is sunk in a few minutes. A gun of large calibre, again the product of months of toil, reaches the slaughter-ground, and a shell from the "enemy" reduces it to scrap-iron. And so with all the material produced for war.

And then the men. Men covering every branch of science have been sacrificed. Torn from their laboratories and studies, they have been thrown into the Army like so much meat a sausage machine. And in addition the finest men of half the world, the very flower of every advanced race under the sun, are flung like so much garbage into the pit, from which few indeed will come out as sound in mind and body as they were when their masters claimed them to be wasted in the war for commercial supremacy. (MICK)

Only by one method can you eliminate this tragic waste. That method is by realising your position as wage-slaves and emancipating yourselves therefrom. The science of Socialism will teach you how to do this. Read our literature. Ask us questions on any point you do not agree with or do not understand. We are ever willing, nay, eager, to assist our fellow workers—men and women—along the road to liberty. H. Grattan.

WORDS THAT BEAR REPEATING.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our good will and Socialist fraternity and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

The World for the Workers.
—S.P.G.B. Manifesto, September 1914.

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the SOCIALIST STANDARD through the usual channels should communicate with the Head Office, 193 Grays Inn Rd., W.C., when regular delivery will be arranged.

STRIKES FOR PEACE.

In this country a similar movement is spreading and strikes are not only in progress, but more are threatened. This movement has received a great impetus from the introduction by the Government of a measure for extending

It would be a big mistake to suppose that these strikes and threats to strike indicate an acceptance of the principles of Socialism, or even a general awakening to the fact that they are slaves to the master class, on the part of those engaged in this movement. In some cases there may be some suspicion as to the good faith of certain Ministers and the War Cabinet, but even this suspicion is only of a faint type, as is shown by several of the resolutions passed at previous meetings. According to Press reports

"The Allies are united in heart and will, not by any hidden designs, but by their open resolve

As the working class begin to understand the position they occupy in modern society ; as they begin to take a hand in settling affairs of

The German pre-war methods of dumping, underselling, and supplying cheap clerk labour in England have left an indelible impression on the minds of the English working men. No such methods have been practiced by France. Since then England and France have been fighting side by side in self defence and in defence of scraps of paper. Yet German

The essential point of our article, however, is completely admitted by Mr. Roudolphi in the

third paragraph of his letter, where he says: "Yet German capitalists are to be left in possession of Lorraine which provides Germany with her sinews of war, whereas France is crippled in all her vital industries."

The first claim may be Mr. Roudolphi's—it obviously cannot be placed on those whose object is to abolish capitalism without distinction of race or nationality. But note his admission that it is solely a question, as far as his claim is concerned, as to whether German capitalists or French capitalists—for that, of course, is what he means by "France,"—shall own these mines. This is exactly what our article stated, namely, that it was the desire to own the coal and iron mines of Alsace-Lorraine that lay behind the hypocritical cry for "her children" raised by the French capitalists.

We are asked: "If say the Welsh coal mines were in the hands of the German enemy would any English Socialist charge English capitalists with greed if England"—which would, of course, mean those capitalist—"claimed the restoration of that coal district?" The answer is: certainly. Every Socialist, whether English or otherwise, would point out that it was greed for profit, not regard for Britain's "children," that would lie behind that demand, exactly as it would have been greed for profit on the part of the German capitalists that would lie behind the forcible annexation of that district.

Our contention is further admitted by our correspondent when he says:

If as you say material interest dominates every section of the capitalists, Socialists should at least see to it that the interest is more equally distributed. To leave everything to the German capitalists who have plundered France of plant and raw materials and leave nothing to the French capitalists and to French working men except their eyes to weep over their misery is neither Socialist nor English.

What grim irony! The capitalists fall out over the sharing of the plunder robbed from the workers, then Mr. Roudolphi wishes the robbed to help the robbers to share out—among the robbers, mind you—the wealth stolen from them, the workers! The French capitalists may only have their eyes left to weep—though we take leave to doubt this—but the French workman will have left the only thing he had before—his labour power, which he may sell if he can find a purchaser. If he cannot find a buyer for his labour power he can starve, even though all Europe belong to the French capitalists.

What difference the nationality of the purchaser makes to the wage slave is shown, for instance, by the treatment meted out to the Welsh "children" by the Welsh coal owners at Llanelly and Tonymandy, when the former were shot down by British soldiers, just as the French "children" were shot at Chalons and Roubaix by French soldiers, and as the German "children" were shot in Berlin by German soldiers, and the Austrian "children" by Austrian soldiers in Vienna and Silistria.

These incidents, however, shrink to small dimensions when compared with the gigantic crimes of the French capitalist class at the very period when Alsace-Lorraine was forcibly annexed by Germany—1871. This very annexation, now so loudly denounced, was agreed to by the French capitalist class on condition that the French prisoners of war should be released from Germany for the sole purpose of crushing the Commune of Paris. It was the price of the slaughter by French soldiers of 25,000 French working men, women, and children in the streets of Paris. No capitalist eyes then wept for the workers; no capitalist love for the "children" of France saved them from the foul conditions and awful tortures of Satory and other prison camps; no French capitalist "chivalry" stood between hapless thousands and death from hunger and privation in savage New Caledonia. Long after the fighting ceased the farcical "trials" continued to provide targets for capitalist bullets. In fact, the slaughter was only stopped because of the fear of an epidemic. As the real historian of the Commune—Lissagaray—says, "It was pestilence, not pity," that stopped the murders.

The French and German capitalist classes joined hands, after a tremendous war between the two countries, to crush down, maim and murder the working class in France. The lesson should be burned deep into the minds of the working class, not of France only, but of the

whole world. For it shows the foul hypocrisy of the capitalist class, whether of France or of Germany, of England or of Italy, of Austria, Russia, America, Japan or any other country, when they pretend to be interested in the welfare of the workers of the particular nations they rule or aspire to rule, while all the time it is the profit plundered from the workers that is their real concern. Ed. Com.

CONSCIENCES IN PLEDGE

By carefully following up the discussions that take place in the House of Commons one is enabled to see through the game of bluff which is being played for the "benefit" of the people in this and other countries. Column after column of stuff is uttered and printed without the least intention of providing any information whatever. Sometimes an interjection, in the form of a comment or a question, reveals more than all the rhetoric of Lloyd George or Asquith's hour and a half speeches. Take this instance: During the debate on war aims (19.12.17) Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck expressed his disappointment that the country is still left in the dark. "It was only when we began to add to our war aims and to arouse suspicion in people's minds that they were being asked to fight, not in order to make the world safe for democracy, but for plutocracy, that there was doubt and loss of moral." (Cheers.) I cannot help thinking that whatever loss of moral is occurring, is due entirely to the suspicion that this country is being asked to go on fighting, not for any high ideals, but in order that our captains of industry and our great commercial men may get a monopoly when the war is over. (Cheers.)

Change the word "suspicion" into "fact" and you have our contention stated once more. Unfortunately, these instances do not receive the attention they deserve, and it is quite an easy matter for the unscrupulous orator to eclipse it with some other line of talk and so create a diversion. A few carefully selected words carefully juggled generally does the trick. As showing how the word "honour" can be differently interpreted to accommodate different circumstances, I will take an example from Lloyd George's speech of the day after the foregoing. Webster defines honour as being "the stake of one's reputation for integrity; a nice sense of what is right, just and true, with a course of life correspondent thereto." Does this fit Mr. Lloyd George? Let us see.

He is speaking on the Russian "defection" and the peace negotiations. "It is perfectly true that there are conditions which impose upon Germany the obligation not to remove any troops from the eastern front to the west. Well, we have heard of scraps of paper before, and I should say that the country that relied upon the Germans keeping that promise had not profited by experience." He then goes right on to claim that the pledge given to British workmen in the matter of military service should be withdrawn. "At the time these pledges were given it was absolutely right they should have been given, in the interests of the country." (For "country" read "capitalists," for in the same speech he says they were given "in order to avert labour troubles." Of course, he only this now.) "The reason we have now to ask that these pledges should be either altered or cancelled is because the conditions have changed."

How nice! Does Lloyd George mean that the conditions have changed so as to render labour docile, and that therefore he can afford to treat his pledges as "scraps of paper"? Will he tear them up or will he keep them by him, ready to use again whenever it is necessary "to avert labour troubles"?

A pledge is a security, a word of honour. Perhaps the reason why Mr. Lloyd George has used these two words so much is because they can be made so accommodative!

LUCIUS.

Mr. T. Rennolls is informed that until such time as he seriously tries to add something to his former statements the discussion is closed.

BY THE WAY.

Mr. Will Thorne, the member for South West Ham, appears to have received something like a shock, owing to the local Trades and Labour Council not re-adopting him as their candidate for the next election. Consequently Bill hurries along to address his constituents and reassure them. A Press cutting informs me that

Mr. Thorne stated he had aroused the enmity of some people owing to his attitude to the war, and chiefly because he had voted for Conscription. Until the war he had never been in favour of it, and after the war he would vote for the withdrawal of the Military Service Act within six months of the declaration of peace. If peace were planned on democratic lines and the German military machine smashed the armies could be reduced in all countries, and men and women taken from the making of destructive machines to useful work. It would be a terrible thing for organised labour all over the country if men like himself, who had stood for trade unionist and Socialist principles, were to suffer as a result of differences arising out of the war.

He was not going to accept such a decision as that made at the recent meeting, but would fight the Plaistow division, subject to the backing of his own union (the General Workers), which he was sure would not be wanting.—"Daily News," Jan. 14th, 1918.

Now one can quite understand that this type of individual is "not going to accept such a decision," for £400 a year, trips to Russia, plus a fur coat, and a place in the limelight are considerations which appeal to the present-day labour "fakir." His frank confession of having voted for Conscription is an instalment to go on with; but the observation that he would vote for the withdrawal of the Military Service Act within six months of the declaration of peace is mere eye-wash—the chains are more easily attached to than removed from us. However, it is refreshing to note that a large number of our fellow wage-slaves are gradually beginning to see the need for class-conscious action, and that the attempt on the part of the labour misleaders to serve both the workers and the capitalist class is highly incongruous.

The "Herald" (19.1.18), commenting on the above says "... it is high time for men and women who hold progressive and Socialist views to come together prepared to fight the industrial and social evils here at home. It will suit the capitalists and landlords to divide us into warring sections, and by so doing prevent labour coming into its own. We trust the West Ham example will not be followed on either side and that our comrades in the East End will call another meeting, and by an unanimous choice once more select Will Thorne to be the standard-bearer for labour in the Plaistow division of that borough."

Here again is the typical example of that blind leadership of the blind policy. The trade unionists, the progressivists, and the Labour Party have from the very commencement of the war been hopelessly divided on their line of action. How, then, can Socialists join with them? To do so would be to inflict the gravest injury on their cause. These men—Thorne, Henderson, Thomas Hill, Lansbury, Parker, to mention just a few—are entirely lacking in understanding of the essentials of Socialist action. They confuse social reform with Socialism and appear to believe that an attempt to patch up or make more bearable capitalist Society is the acme of working-class existence. Therefore we are opposed to them, and whilst we recognise the desire of the master class to "divide and conquer," we realise also that when the workers as a body understand the conflict of interest between capitalist and labourer, in a word become class-conscious, the day of the charlatan will be over.

The task which lies before us is to help clear the ground of the obstacles which are in our pathway. This can only be accomplished by the workers themselves understanding what Socialist action is. Having prepared the ground we can sow the seed and in due time reap the harvest.

The war seems of late to have developed into a show to judge by the invitations which have

recently been given to various individuals and bodies of workmen (of official variety). It is indeed refreshing to note that there are still some men left who have no desire to participate in these picnic tours and who can summon sufficient imagination to grasp what war means without being in the immediate vicinity. One refusal would, perhaps, not be amiss—

The West Hartlepool No. 1 Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen, whose refusal to be represented on a deputation of their trade union to the Western Front was not taken seriously by the authorities at Trinity House, point out that their protest, which contained such expressions as "joy-ride" and "glorified Cook's tour," was meant in no jocular spirit.—"Daily News," Jan. 16th, 1918.

One is tempted to hope that those who accept might be retained at the front until the suspension of hostilities.

We have read a lot of hypocritical cant during the last three years regarding the position of women in the war area and their treatment by the "enemy." But what have our masters to say to the following?

Commander Wedgwood asked the Under-Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that at Cayeux-sur-Mer a public brothel was opened on the main promenade in August last, and that since its opening clandestine prostitution as well as public vice has greatly increased; that when the townspeople sought to obtain the closure of the establishment the Mayor in reply to their memorial, while disclaiming responsibility, alleged the presence of a large British convalescent camp as a justification of the existence of such a house; that the French military authorities, writing through General Dubois, told the memorialists that it was at the request of the English military authorities that this brothel was opened; that Colonel Moriarty, the head of the British camp, wrote that the English military authorities had nothing to say to the creation of this establishment, and that the responsibility rested with the French military authorities; whether he will ascertain who is responsible; and whether the British authorities will assist the inhabitants in doing away with this public nuisance? Mr. Macpherson: I am inquiring into this matter, and will inform my hon. and gallant Friend of the result.—Official Report, 5th Dec., 1917, Col. 421.

As usual, one has to "wait and see." Doubtless it is not in the public interest to convey the information!

With the advent of the new year we once again find ourselves being regaled by the war prophets. It is almost inconceivable that some of them should again try their skill (?) in this direction, seeing how hopelessly inaccurate have been their previous endeavours, but, of course, some effort must be made to buoy up a large section of the public who are slowly but surely getting fed up with war conditions. In this connection I read that Windy Churchill delivered himself of the following:

We are now entering that period of the war when the strain will be more severely felt, and the powers of endurance of every member of the community will be tested. Such is always the case towards the end of a great struggle. The courage and devotion of our men in the field must be supported by the spirit of the nation at home in order to carry us through to final victory, and it is the duty of all that have influence to use it to develop and to sustain the national spirit. . . . I trust that this new year may bring to all that happiness which will result from victory and the beginning of the great era of peace.—"Daily News," Jan. 10th, 1918.

The same gentleman in a previous speech informed his hearers at a meeting at Dundee, June 5th, 1915, that—

The army of Sir Ian Hamilton, the fleet of Admiral de Robeck, are separated only by a few miles from a victory such as this war has not yet seen. When I speak of victory, I am not referring to those victories which crowd the daily placards of any newspapers. I am speaking of victory in the sense of a brilliant and formidable fact, shaping the destinies of nations and shortening the duration of the war.

Words, words, words! Two years and seven months have passed and we who live to tell the tale know what a fiasco the Dardanelles campaign proved itself to be.

One other quotation from the same source would, perhaps, not be amiss. Speaking at Liverpool, September 21st, 1914, Windy stated—

Our men . . . hoped they would have a chance to settle the question with the German Fleet, and if they did not come out and fight they would be dug out like rats in a hole. Under the shield of our Navy you can raise an army in this country which will settle the war within six or seven months.

From 1914 to 1918 most people will, I think, agree is a fairly decent period for the "digging out" and the "army raising" process. Not so our prophet. He forgets the past, and now informs us that the testing time which precedes the end of the struggle is fast approaching. Our masters have raised an army of "volunteers," of conscripts, endeavoured to recruit the unfit, and are now "combing out" the remainder of the workers.

The international master class will have to get a move on quickly or their aims may be defeated by "Little Mary."

It must be remembered that the Russian revolution to-day is very much more obnoxious to the propertied and privileged classes than was the kindly administrative revolution of last March.—"Daily News," Jan. 14th, 1918.

The Allies' noble ideals. The following is illuminating. "From the latest editorials, it is apparent the Italian Press generally is less and less favourably disposed towards the peace terms of Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, especially those relating to Italy. However, the more authoritative sections of the Press express the belief that the two speakers' generic conditions coincide with Baron Sonnino's well-known plank, including not merely the Trentino and Trieste, but also Italy's Adriatic claims. The indefinite statements made by the speakers are not, however, calculated to cement Italy's internal and divided politics and but serve to aid military and popular resistance."—"Reynolds's," Jan. 13th, 1918. Small wonder, then, there is an ever-increasing demand for a re-statement of war aims.

Recently Lord Rhondda made the wonderful discovery that queues are "centres of discontent." I congratulate him. Also I have read that the aforementioned person is interested in what is termed a "Ministry of Health." Seeing that this is so one hopes that he will soon make the discovery that queues are bad from a health point of view as well as from that of temper. After the recent Baby week campaign (Save our sucklings) the following is interesting.

In Edmonton and Tottenham food queues were proportionately longer than in any other district. Yet only a day or so ago Dr. Kirkhope, the Medical Officer of Health for Tottenham, had written to the Tottenham Food Control Committee drawing attention to the fact that a large number of infants in that district were suffering from bronchitis and pneumonia caused by nothing else than the fact that they had been brought by their mothers to wait in the food queues.

"This queue system must be stopped and stopped quickly," said Dr. Kirkhope to "Reynolds's" representative. "In this district we have realised its effect in an abnormal number of infant inquests. To-day we have had three inquests dealing with children who have died with bronchial pneumonia."—"Reynolds's," Jan. 13th, 1918.

Such are the glories of war!

The Ministry of Food, in the words of the hymn, "moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform." After the bleeding profiteers have reaped a rich harvest by the sale of rabbits at the exorbitant price of from 4s. to 5s. each, the Ministry really moves. At long last the price of this (sometimes) succulent rodent has been fixed at 1s. 9d. without the overcoat, 2s. with same, and 10 and behold they become extinct in our market places.

"What a man soweth that shall he also reap." The indiscriminate policy of "all into the Army" looks as though it will be a very expensive experiment. The following is yet another instance of the criminal folly of our rulers.

The Pensions Appeal Tribunal at Manchester yesterday allowed the appeal of a man who was discharged from the Army after 60 days' service on account of heart disease. Judge Parry said it was obvious that the man

was not fit to join the Army. The recruiting authorities, in taking him, did a foolish thing, and for that folly that Tribunal thought the State should pay.—"Daily News," Jan. 10th, 1918.

In reading again Lloyd George's speeches published in his book "Better Times," one is somewhat amazed at his action in taking into his war Cabinet such persons as the Rt. Hon. Earl Curzon and the Rt. Hon. Viscount Milner. Speaking at the National Liberal Club, December 3rd, 1909, the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George spoke of these two gentlemen thus: "Now, Lord Curzon is not a very wise or tactful person. All I would say about him would be this: I think he is less dangerous as a ruler of the House of Lords than as a ruler of India. For further particulars apply to Lord Kitchener. And if you want any more information you might apply to Lord Middleton. I will say no more of him. Then there is Lord Milner. There is one thing in common between Lord Milner and Lord Curzon. They are both very clever men with every gift except the gift of common sense." (Page 184.) Strange, is it not, that he should seek out just those void and empty of this last-mentioned quality for his "win-the-war" Cabinet? But the passage explains a multitude of muddles. THE SCOUT.

CAUGHT NAPPING.

TO THE EDITOR.

I notice in the current issue of our Party Organ a "Letter to Irish Workers," by Mr. Thos. Brown. Although there is nothing to lead one to suppose that that letter was written by a member of the Party, and bears evidence (to the initiated), in the absence of the usual comradely salutations, that it was not, I think that some more definite disclaimer should have accompanied the letter, provided, of course, I am right in my surmise as to its authorship.

While it is difficult to place the finger on any definitely unsound phrases, it is nevertheless a fact that the "atmosphere" of Mr. Brown's letter suggests the nationalist rather than the Socialist. The references to "suffering, bleeding Ireland," "loving service to living Irishmen," "profound sympathy with all the struggles of his countrymen," "No true Irishman who has any real regard for his country," and so on, do not ring true to the Socialist hammer, while such phrases as "Ireland a nation" . . . is not a first-class Socialist issue" gives a Socialist the creeps.

A Socialist does not have profound sympathy with the struggles of his countrymen but with his fellow workers; he does not demand "loving service to living Irishmen," or Englishmen, or Frenchmen, but intelligent service in the cause of his class.

I have no desire to make a long criticism on Mr. Brown's letter, but there are two other points that need attention before I close. The first is his reference to the "Clarion" as a "prominent Socialist organ." No Socialist could think of that paper as anything but the most insidious of anti-Socialist journals, which its war record alone is sufficient to prove it to be. Then the constant use of the term "international Socialist"—as if one can be a Socialist without being an internationalist.

Fraternalty yours, MacC.

[We humbly accept the gentle chiding administered by Comrade MacC. All that he says is quite true, and as a matter of fact instructions were issued to the effect that Mr. Brown's letter was to be inserted under such a safeguard as our comrade suggests, but—"somebody blundered," and Comrade MacC. gets the chance to immortalise himself.—Ed. Com.]

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THE STRONG MAN.

(A STUDY.)

The following study of the character of a personal friend (recently dead) of the writer is, in a way, rather outside the scope of strict Socialist propaganda. It does, however, open up the question as to how far a powerful personality—even though used beneficially—should be allowed to dominate its weaker brethren. In practically all men there is but one thing as great as, or greater than, the desire to live, and that is the desire to dominate; and this "Will to Power" is one of the greatest dangers that Socialism has to face. It is the progenitor of "leaders" and the forerunner of a cleavage between a few more richly endowed intellects and the rank and file, which must stifle free expression, and lead to a sullen acquiescence or a sheeplike docility on the part of the rank and file, either of which is calculated to wreck the whole organisation. Such is the writer's apology for the following:

A dominating personality at all times, his influence over the immature and untrained mind was, perhaps, his greatest attribute for good or ill. For be it understood, any power—whether of wealth, position, character, or intellect matters very little—can be used in one of two ways. It can be—but seldom is—used in what the wielder of it considers is solely in the interests and for the benefit of those it dominates, or it can be used to their detriment. One thing assuredly can be said. In either case the exercise of such excessive power will be found on analysis and in the ultimate to be necessary to the maintenance and development of the master-mind whose function it is to wield such power. Disuse brings atrophy and power without the opportunity for its exercise very soon deteriorates, and eventually dies of inattention or degenerates and, turning inwards, rends to pieces its possessor. A dangerous weapon at all times, whether held by saint or sinner, by king or peasant!

No one who knew him would dare assert that his influence over others was ever used for an ignoble or sordid purpose. He had erected for himself a noble and inspiring philosophy of life, had a clear conception of the ideal he wished to attain, and had the desire for others to reach his philosophy and his ideal. In other words, he saw life in a certain way, had hopes and ambitions of a certain kind, and, naturally, wished others to see life as he saw it and hold hopes and ambitions similar to his. Having a clear self-knowledge, knowing exactly what he wanted, and always convinced that his own way of life was the best way, he desired that others should hold the same view-point and considered himself justified in using his dominating and subtle personality to impose his opinions on on whomsoever he thought plastic enough for his purpose. He was able to inspire his intimates with a sense of the truth of what he held to be true, with a sense of the infallibility of his intellectual judgment. He gave all he possessed to those who were willing to receive, but the acceptance of what he gave meant the elimination of whatever the mind of the acceptor had hitherto held. To be of the elect, one had to think his thoughts, struggle toward his ideals, see with his eyes.

But now comes the crux of the problem, in the blank that has been left in the lives of the young and ardent followers who were most under his influence. And this is the danger that goes inevitably with the excessive exercise of intellectual power. When such power is withdrawn, are the ideas that have previously been implanted and held in their place by the strength of a strong personality sufficiently strong in themselves to stand alone? Or when the stronger personality is withdrawn does the personality find itself at a loose end, vacillating, gradually deteriorating and dying? If the latter, it would seem that the intellectual domination of a weaker by a stronger personality is decidedly injurious. Better to allow the weaker intellect to blunder along into the mental life's various cul-de-sacs and blunder out again. Or better still, to guide the immature

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and timid intellect towards the path that will lead to its own free expression and development. In the end it comes to this—no man is fit to be another man's master intellectually, any more than he is fit to be another man's master economically. F. J. WEBB.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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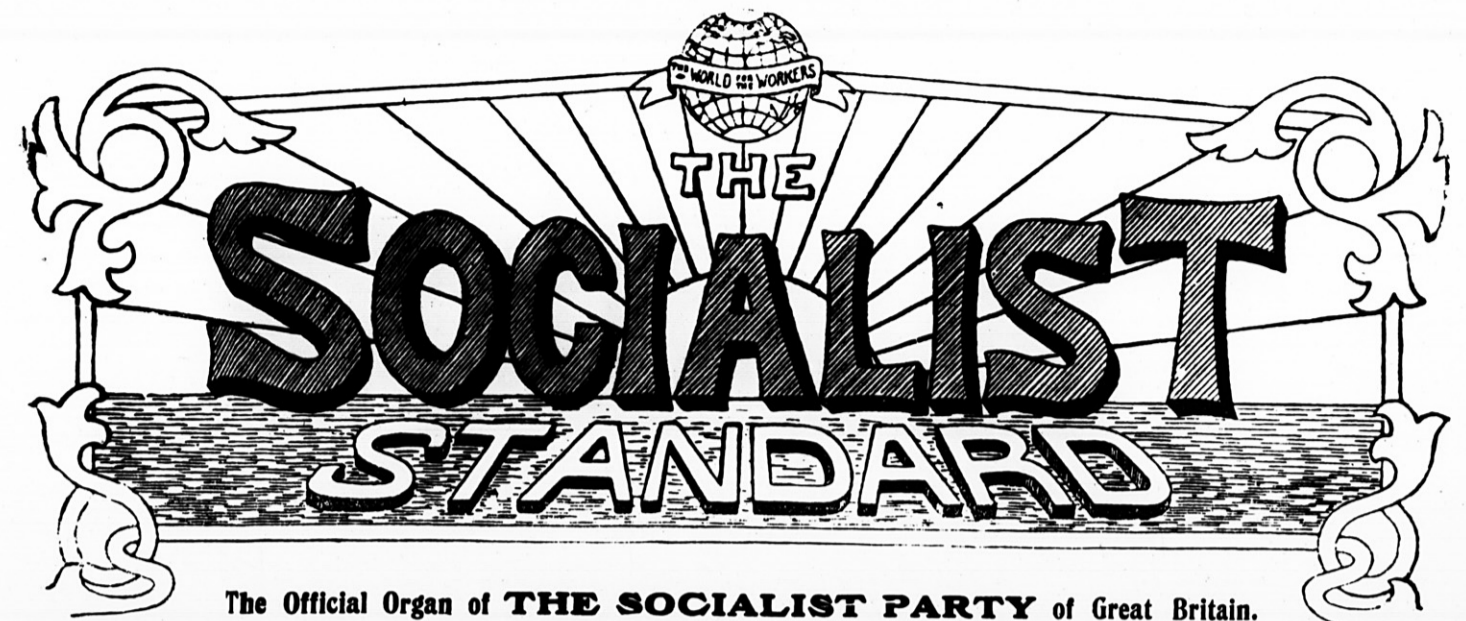
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LONDON, MARCH, 1918.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHAT THE CAPITALIST WANTS.

AN INTERPRETATION.

In a short article to "Reynolds's Newspaper" Sir Alfred Mond, Bart., M.P., First Commissioner of Works, pleads for three things: a higher wage, greater efficiency, and a reasonable manner of progressing from one social stage to another. Like all social reformers, he speedily comes up against the limitations of the system. There are things of a beneficial kind that can be done, but their doing invariably involves something that is not beneficial. If, for instance, higher wages are made general, then there must be greater efficiency. "Unless," he says, "higher wages carry with them a higher degree of production and efficiency it is obvious that British industries will be placed in a very serious position." And now mark where the capitalist system limits the power of the would-be reformer. "On the other hand," says Sir Alfred, "higher wages ought to bring with them a greater consuming power." Evidently he is of the opinion that the workers do not consume enough, that their standard of living is too low; yet it cannot be raised except on condition that they produce more wealth. How much productivity must be increased he is undecided. But "wages cannot be increased above the produce which a man requiring the wage provides"—an admission that it is the worker, the wage worker, who produces all wealth, and in other words a gratuitous indication that wages cannot rise above the total value of the wealth produced by the workers. "Nor," he says, "sink below an average subsistence level."

Now an average wage is struck by adding together all the wages paid and dividing by the number of wage earners. It must be plain that in striking such an average there will be some below it. In pre-war days this average was somewhere about 24s. a week, but it was a well known fact that millions of workers did not receive that sum weekly. When Sir Alfred says that "a wage cannot sink below an average subsistence level," he is either pitifully ignorant of what an average means, or he has something false in his mind which he has failed to make clear. In either case he is to be pitied.

When the chemical baronet comes to define capital and explain its function he plunges from one absurdity to another in reckless fashion. "People must clear their minds of the idea that a capitalist necessarily means a rich man, or that capital in itself is necessarily connected with any particular man whatever." But he does not tell us where capital is to be found that does not belong to a capitalist, nor does he attempt to prove that a capitalist is not a man. "A workingman," he says, "who has got £5 in the savings bank, or a carpenter who has a set of tools, is, in fact, as much a capitalist as a man who is regarded as rich."

The first instance is obviously and palpably false. A man with £5 in the Post Office and drawing half a crown interest, it must be clear,

is not as much a capitalist as a man with £100,000 invested in manufacture who draws £10,000. Obviously it is a question of degree, so much so that the workman remains a wage-slave and the man with the hundred thousand lives by the exploitation of such as he.

Capital is wealth that is used for exploitation, and the amount of wealth saved and used in this way by the whole working class is a mere drop in the ocean compared with the capital owned by the capitalist class; not only so, but the possession of it by the workers does not free them for a day from capitalist exploitation.

Sir Alfred Mond and others only make such claims in order to hide the real definition and meaning of capital, and to cause confusion in the minds of the workers on a question that is quite simple and should be easily understood.

His second illustration is if anything more absurd than the first. A carpenter's tools have to be bought out of his wages. Tools he must have in order to earn wages. He must use them himself, wearing them out in the service of the capitalist, and replacing them when necessary out of his wages. If they were capital the carpenter would rather be without such capital, and as a matter of fact the cost of tools is considered as equivalent to a reduction of wages. But of course a set of tools is in no sense capital, as they are not used to exploit with. Again, capital, unlike tools, does not wear out. £1,000 invested in manufacture remains £10,000, although a 10 per cent. dividend is paid on it indefinitely, and sufficient left over at each share-out to cover all depreciation. To earn his wages the carpenter must be present with and operate his tools. Not so the capitalist. When he has invested his capital it makes no difference whether he fusses about round the concern in correct morning dress or takes himself to the antipodes, his dividends are paid to his banking account just the same.

Sir Alfred Mond's article is entitled "The Needs of Capital and Labour." The "need" of Labour is a higher wage, which the needs of industry—capital—will not permit unless the worker gives a higher degree of production and efficiency. If the worker wants higher wages he must give more energy, attention, and concentration to his task. But this means more surplus-value for the capitalist, and we may be sure that the higher profits resulting will more than cover the higher wages paid. But are higher wages actually paid?

Every scheme for raising the standard of efficiency has for its object a reduction in the number of the workers employed in the production of a given quantity of wealth, the total wages paid to the reduced number of workers being less than was paid to the larger number. The need of the capitalist is, therefore, to pay less in wages and obtain more in profits.

But this is not all the capitalist needs, according to Sir Alfred. It is not sufficient that he should pose as a benefactor to his workers, pretending to give them something while in reality taking more from them. His needs go further. Not only must exploitation become more intense, it must be made more secure. He says: "Let us hasten forward on that great path of progress which reformers have followed for generations. . . . But let us not be induced to scrap a well-ordered state which has produced the happiness and prosperity of millions in the past. . . . Our centuries of well-ordered and disciplined progress and our democratic institutions should, at any rate, proceed from one stage to another in a reasonable manner, and our country must not be allowed to be thrown into anarchy by those who seem to imagine that the overturning of everything that has been created is the real method of human progress."

No one can deny that the capitalist system is well ordered in the interest of the capitalist class, or that it has produced the happiness and prosperity of millions who belong to that class. But the great bulk of Society, the working class, have no share in that prosperity whatever, though it is by their labour it is made possible. The working class live from hand to mouth; even in the most prosperous times wages on the average barely cover the cost of living. Always there are millions (13 millions the late Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said) who live on or below the poverty line.

It is easy for the sleek and slimy capitalist to talk of "hastening forward on that great path of progress which reformers have followed for generations," but if his lot had been cast among those 13 millions he might have possessed sufficient intelligence to see and declare that generations of reform had proved its utter futility. The poverty of the working class has grown more widespread and intense; toil has become more arduous and concentrated, while the reformers have been tinkering with reforms, and still the capitalist wants more—more generations to patch up his tottering system, more labour-power in return for a reduced wages bill, that he may not be left behind in the race for markets—his only concern.

The capitalist system is well-ordered and disciplined so long as the working class are quiescent and docile, submitting to exploitation and adapting themselves to ever-deepening poverty. So long as the political trickster and confusionist is effective, and the desperation of the workers only breaks out into violence in small numbers that can be easily suppressed with armed force—which his class controls—the capitalist will consider his system well-ordered.

No matter how unemployment and poverty may increase, or how many victims are broken

on the wheel of industry, the anarchy of world trade, with its conflicting interests, its mad race for markets, and its universal crises, is well-ordered, only because the capitalist class always remain on top in full enjoyment of the surplus wealth produced by the workers.

Even when the anarchy of trade results in universal chaos and stagnation, when millions in every land clamour for the necessities of life, and small concerns go bankrupt in thousands because factories are choked up with necessities for which there is no market; even when the capitalists of one or more countries determine to monopolise a larger share of the market by armed force, and the capitalists of other nations, taking up the challenge, plunge the whole world into the madness of war, there is still order—capitalist order—the will of the capitalist class to sacrifice the working class of the world on the counters of international trade.

It is the height of hypocrisy to claim that Society is well ordered in the midst of the present anarchy. It is sheer humbug to pretend that peace time means anything else for the bulk of Society but degrading poverty and incessant struggle. If progress is well ordered, why the universal discontent of the working class? Why the increasing antagonism on the industrial field? Why the need for armaments on an ever-increasing scale? And why the slaughter of millions to settle differences between soap kings and pork magnates?

These are questions that Sir Alfred cannot answer, whose validity even he cannot admit and retain his main contention—yet they are obvious.

Every stage in the evolution of capitalism brings deeper degrees of anarchy. The only order that exists is that obtained by suppression. The millions who toil, receiving only the barest necessities of life, provide the wealth with which the capitalist class gamble on the stock exchanges and markets of the world. The day of the individual capitalist superintending his own concern, and playing his own hand in the competitive struggle has gone by. Trusts, combines, and national groups struggle for supremacy, crushing out their smaller competitors, dictating national politics and international relations. But the control of industry falling into fewer hands brings only greater chaos, because the system is based on competition, which means antagonism and struggle. A system that is grounded in competition bears within itself the seed of anarchy, and there is no escape from its consequences as the system develops.

The doctrine of Nietzsche is, therefore, the crown and apex of capitalist philosophy. Brute force alone can triumph. The capitalist groups of every nation arm for war, and whether a nation throws down the gauntlet or takes it up the doctrine of force is accepted and subscribed to by all. It is the wildest folly for those who rely on brute force to rail at Nietzsche, Darwin, and Malthus, for these have merely indicated the consequences of their own system.

If the capitalist class, while denouncing the doctrine of force, are driven, willy nilly, to act on it, and are unable to save Society from chaos and ruin, it is up to the working class to overturn their rule, by organising to capture the political machine, and establishing Society on a co-operative basis. The means of wealth production, owned and controlled democratically by the people, would put an end to competition and struggle, because wealth would be produced for use instead of for profit. F. F.

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SOCIETY AND MORALS.

PART VII. THE MORALS OF CAPITALISM.

The industrial system which prevails to-day, and which has moulded social institutions along lines rapidly becoming world-wide, is known as "capitalism" because, under this system, the wealth used in production takes the character of "capital." By "capital" is to be understood wealth which is neither used directly for consumption, nor yet, primarily, for the production of articles for their own sake, but wealth which is specifically employed for the purpose of yielding a profit or interest upon which the owner of the capital can live without necessarily consuming or diminishing the sum of capital itself.

Apart from the undeveloped forms—usurer's or merchant's capital which preceded the dominating "industrial capital" of to-day, this process of profit yielding is made possible because, in contrast to the possessors of capital (the capitalists) there exists a far larger class who possess no wealth upon which they can live. These propertyless persons must, therefore, undertake to work with the means of production owned by the capitalists on condition that in return they receive the means to enable them to feed, clothe, and shelter—in a word, maintain themselves.

This transaction between capitalist and worker takes the form of a purchase and sale of the worker's labouring energy, for upon yielding this power to the capitalist for a stipulated time the worker receives a sum of money or a wage—the price of this energy. This price, whilst varying like that of any other commodity according to the relations of supply and demand, is determined by the cost of producing the commodity—in this case the maintenance of the labourer's energy, of his life and that of his family at the customary standard of comfort and fitness.

Under capitalism practically everything that is produced is for sale in the markets. The capitalist does not desire to use the goods his employees produce for him; it matters not to him even what they are, whether they be battle-ships or bootlaces, so long as he can obtain their equivalent in money by selling them. It is in their sale that he realises the profit he is all along out for. He obtains it from the value given to the goods by the labour of his employees, during their production, in excess of that which merely balances the wages he pays out. Obviously then, under these conditions practically all the benefits of increasing powers of production are reaped by the capitalists, who as a consequence become more wealthy, while the great mass of producers remain in a permanent condition of poverty.

The wage-worker under capitalism, therefore, is in a similar position to the chattel-slave and to the serf, whom we have previously dealt with. He is a compulsory worker and he is exploited of the wealth produced by what we have hitherto referred to as surplus energy—that energy resident in man after labouring sufficiently to secure self maintenance.

Such, then, omitting details, are the primary features of the capitalist mode of production, a system which has profoundly modified all human institutions, ideas, and moral relations. To trace these changes it is essential to briefly outline its historical development.

The Coming of Capitalism.

In feudal Society there was no class of labourers who worked permanently for wages. Individuals may have done so, but there was no such class in the sociological sense. As we have seen, the serf, providing he abided by the customs of the age, was, by these customs, guaranteed normally, a secure livelihood. He was not a landowner in the modern sense, but he did possess certain rights in the land. The craftsman too, easily acquired the tools and materials used in his work. Neither, therefore, was under any economic necessity to sell his labour power to an employer for wages. Before such could become a social phenomenon the

link which united the producer with the means of production had to be severed.

This severance, the historic premise of capitalism, was accomplished in several stages, the details of which can be read in Gibbins' "Industrial History of England," or Marx's "Capital." Here we need only say in brief that as the old village community was gradually undermined by economic changes, such as the substitution of money rents for feudal services or payment in goods, the landed nobility were enabled by their control of the State to enclose the land of their estates, thus depriving large numbers of the peasantry of their only means of existence by ejecting them from their allotments. Many became petty craftsmen independent of the guilds, others flocked to the towns to form the germs of the urban proletariat.

Capitalist production began when wealthy merchants, instead of buying commodities from independent craftsmen, found it more profitable in order to meet the growing demands of the expanding international markets to gather numbers of these dispossessed workers into factories of their own, providing them with materials and supervising their work. In England many such factories existed in the 16th Century in "industrial villages" outside the Guild towns.

Soon division of labour introduced into the workshops made the workers more and more dependent upon their capitalist employer, a dependence which was made complete towards the end of the 18th Century by the revolution brought about by the advent of steam-driven machinery.

This dependence of the workers upon those who own the gigantic and, above all, expensive machine plants, which while increasing their productiveness lessen the skill required of the producer, soon became general because, in the last century and a half, the machine process has been taken up in every branch of production.

In their evolution the capitalist class or bourgeoisie (so called because its first elements were townsmen, inhabitants of the "bourg") found it necessary to attack with a view to their abolition, all the institutions reminiscent of feudalism, which were a hindrance to the full satisfaction of their interests.

The merchants, who were the fore-runners of the industrial capitalists, had been materially aided by the favour extended to them by the Crown, to which they were a rich source of revenue and a powerful counterpoise against the baronage, who, with their petty armies and traditional prestige, were always a menace to the supremacy of the king. But after the military power of the nobility had been broken and their descendants had become mere land-owners and courtiers of the king, the growing bourgeoisie were oppressed by all manner of tolls and duties hindering the freedom of trade—Crown monopolies, a heavy taxation, and a political system which excluded them from any share in the government.

Against such conditions the capitalists rebelled. They became revolutionary, that is, they desired the abolition of the social institutions which had been adapted to feudal conditions of production, but which, now that feudalism was a thing of the past, were obsolete and a fetter to industrial progress; and in their place they determined to establish new institutions suitable to capitalist production and thus to their own interests.

Their intellectual leaders developed new social theories, in which the conditions of the past were condemned as unjust, tyrannical and unreasonable. By contrast, the aspirations of the new class appeared as the very embodiment of Justice, Liberty, and Reason. Their great watchword was "Freedom": freedom of commercial competition; a working class "free" to sell its labour-power to any purchaser and to move from place to place with the shifting centres of employment. Previous forms of exploitation, now obsolete and a bar to the free operation of capitalist methods, were condemned. Chattel-slavery became a "crime against humanity." Serfdom was declared a violation of the "Rights of Man."

New religious conceptions arose in antagonism to the reactionary Roman Catholicism—the ghost of feudalism, the mental despot. "Freedom of conscience" and of faith were demanded.

The "divine right" of kingship was stoutly denied. Puritanism, an extreme reaction against all things "Roman," became dominant in England. It supplanted the authority of the Church with that of the Bible; condemned the extravagant, sensual, and gay lives of the aristocracy; raised to an ideal the miserly, money-seeking habits of the bourgeoisie, and substituted for the many boisterous feasts and holidays of the past, possible with the agrarian economy of feudalism, the more regular, but meaner and dull, Sabbath.

In France the intellectual movement took the form of a crude but highly critical materialism under Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists. Natural science, discouraged in the feudal period as likely to lead to heretical opinion, was looked on with favour by the bourgeoisie. It aided them both in navigation and in industry.

Many new conceptions of law and morality were formulated. For instance, ancient law says practically nothing in relation to "contract," which, as everyone knows, plays a great part in modern jurisprudence. In communistic and early feudal times the organisations of production—in agriculture the village commune, in industry the guild—persisted from generation to generation, and the relations of the members of them were fixed by customs of immense antiquity. But with the rise of capitalist production, industry becomes a matter of the private enterprise of individuals. The capitalist set up his factory, purchased his materials and labour-power, and thus founded a productive organisation which was the result of a perfectly well known agreement between men. Contracts thus became of importance in the basic relations of men, and they were made binding by the "law of contract." The early bourgeois sociologists, such as Rousseau, regarded "contract" as of such fundamental importance that they accounted for the origin of human society by their theory of the primal "social contract."

Enlisting the support of the discontented peasantry and proletariat by their "democratic" slogans, the bourgeoisie at length broke the power of the Crown and the nobility; capitalist production triumphed; capitalist ideas and morality became supreme and their tenets were embodied in the law of the State.

In particular was the right of private property elevated to an inviolable position. Whilst, under tribal society, personal ownership of wealth had been almost negligible and even under feudalism extremely restricted, with the first flush of the bourgeois triumph it became almost absolute. The doctrine was formulated that private property was a "natural attribute" of man and his "eternal right." Accordingly, infringements of the laws of property, now dominant in the legal code, were severely punished. In England a century ago the death penalty was enforced in cases even of petty theft.

All legal restrictions on trade and production were now abolished—the reign of free competition and free exploitation opened.

Competition and Psychology.

The industrial competition which made capitalistic production and exchange so distinctly different from all previous forms has had a profound influence upon the mental life of Society. It became so intense that Engels likened it to the "struggle for existence" in the biological world. This unremitting war of "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost" fostered to the utmost the natural egoism or selfishness in men, and necessarily hampered the expression of their artistic feelings and social impulses.

The business man who loved "his neighbour as himself," who cared at all for the welfare of his competitors, would be ruined financially and cast into the proletariat. Even the wage-worker, whose existence depends upon his getting a "job," cannot but fight his competing fellow-worker in the labour market, especially when, as is usually the case, the job-hunters outnumber the jobs.

Competitive capitalism weakened social bonds and made men's actions as anti-social as they

well could be and retain their social organisation at all. But so much is the horizon of man's thought limited by the conditions under which he lives, that competition appeared to the bourgeoisie as the basis of all progress, as the only "natural" condition of production. Any interference with its constant sway was regarded as a calamity. "Individualism," having the "rights and liberty of the individual" as its dogma and Herbert Spencer as its greatest exponent, became the "philosophy bourgeois" par excellence. That the proletariat never completely assimilated this teaching is due to the fact that, very early, the workers learned the great law that combination, where possible, is more effective than strife—a lesson which the capitalists were not to learn until much later, as we shall see.

The prominence which the capitalist era has given to individual egoism is, no doubt, largely responsible for the general acceptance of the view that selfishness is the natural inclination of man, altruism being super-human, i.e., of supernatural origin—a view which has led to the ethical argument for the existence of God. As we have seen, however, concern for the welfare of others, equally with selfishness, is a product of the animal evolution of man.

The bourgeoisie's steadfast belief in the gospel of competition was based upon the theory that out of the seeming strife and anarchy of the struggle came order and harmony through the inexorable workings of the economic laws of supply and demand. These laws were supposed to regulate production and distribution with the utmost possible exactness and to apportion the wealth produced with the greatest justice attainable. Consequently the bourgeoisie were bewildered by the periodic crises in history which were due to the over-production largely a result of the industrial anarchy prevailing. Their leaders sought the cause of crises everywhere but in the right place, even in the spots on the sun.

That the owners of capital should receive the largest share of the wealth produced was only "right and natural," for, reasoned the economists, did they not "risk their capital"; and was not this, in the first place, the outcome of their thrift and diligent industry; and further, was not their organising and business ability at the root of the efficiency and success of their productive concerns?

True, the mere landlords were wealthy also, and these surely enough were social parasites, the useless remnants of a bye-gone age. If the workers were poor, declared their theorists, what was to blame but their own thriftlessness and lack of intelligent effort; the very laws of the "survival of the fittest" and of the ratio of population to food supply were against any other result.

Such was the tenor of the social theories prevailing during the classical period of capitalism. Translated into the political practice of the "Manchester School," they meant the non-interference of the State in private industry. The individual capitalist could exercise his boundless avarice unfettered even by the wider interests of his own class. Men, women, and children toiled wearily day and night in the feverish hum of unhealthy factories, workshops, and mines. In Green's "Short History" we read: "Women toiled in coal-mines, chained like beasts of burden to carts which they dragged on all fours through the long galleries, traversing from seventeen to thirty miles a day. Children from five years old were sent into the darkness of the mines. In the model mill of David Dale children from five to eight worked from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m., after which they went to school. . . . Children might be seen lying on the factory floors at night to be ready for work in the morning." (Page 840.) Such conditions were justified by the morality of capitalism. Verily, in those days, as Marx has put it, "capital celebrated its orgies."

When laws were passed to ameliorate such frightful conditions of exploitation it was due principally to the political opponents of the manufacturers—the land-owners—who were, of course, uninjured by the restrictions. To these "Factory Acts" the industrial capitalists were doggedly opposed. John Bright, their spokesman, denounced the Ten Hours Bill as "one of the worst measures ever passed in the shape of

an Act of Legislature." (Gibbins' "Industrial History.")

Nor were these the only "benefits" which flowed from the reign of free profit competition. As goods were produced, not that they should be used by their producers, but only to be sold at a profit, the quality of the articles was of little concern to the manufacturers so long as the purchaser could be deceived. The sale of adulterated food-stuffs, for instance, spread to proportions which would have seemed incredible in the "simple age" when people prepared food to eat. Bright declared adulteration a "legitimate form of competition." Rubbish, in our civilised age, is sold as food, poison as drink, and the all-producing proletariat are clad in shoddy clothing and in paper boots. Fortunes are built up by the sale of quack "patent medicines" and "cures" for every imaginable ailment. The advertising of goods has become an art in itself, an art of lying and deceit. Every article is pronounced from a hundred glaring posters to be better than all its competitors. Under capitalism it has become impossible to separate lying from the most every-day economic relations. The worker lies to his boss about his qualifications; the manufacturer and salesman lies to his customers from the hoarding and the Press, by his agent, or over the counter. The "business lie" has become "not a real lie at all," a mere convention which everybody expects and everybody sees through.

Such are some of the glorious results of free competition and the "rights of the individual."

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

JOTTINGS.

Superstition still has its uses. It has been used with effect during the war, not only by the regular professional vendors, but by the civil and military authorities, when it suited their purpose.

Only recently, in the excavations on the Palatina at Rome, Commendatore Giacomo Boni, the Italian archaeologist, unearthed a magnificent statue of Victory, carved from marble from Pentelikon, near Athens, which dates back to the 5th Century B.C. Ordinarily a discovery of aesthetic value such as this one would have been sufficient to send into raptures archaeological students all over the world. As it is, the discovery has been accepted as an augury of victory for allied capitalism. In other words, Someone placed it there to be found at this juncture to indicate the triumph of "right" over might. As a consequence the Italian workers will be spurred on to still further efforts, and because of its discovery thousands more lives may be lost.

So the Americans now have discovered "incontestable proof that Lenin, all on his lonesome, has been plotting to hand Russia over to the Germans. How the international master class do hate this revolutionary! They could forgive the Kaiser and all his brood of blood-letters, but the man who has helped to bring peace to Russia—never.

As illustrating the "impartial" application of the principles of justice and liberty which is so prominent a feature of our democratic country, and for the maintenance of which thousands of lives are being sacrificed, perhaps the following items will be found useful as well interesting.

The instances referred to are taken from the "Manchester Guardian" (9.1.18), but are too long to quote in full. On the day previous a London engineer named Tinsley was tried for having made a statement likely to cause—y'know the gag. It seems that he had stated that the war would soon be over, and that we should have to make the best terms we could, as we were beaten, and could not beat Germany. He was fined £25.

(Continued on Back Page.)

mistake, they argue like the metaphysicians who claim that mathematics is purely *a priori*; absolutely mental without contact with the material: they are carried away with the formalism of money and go about asserting that money need not have a gold and silver basis, but can exist independent and absolutely formal.

On the other hand we have people like "A.E.J." who would deny that money is capable of serving as a mental standard, a thing of form capable at times of becoming so detached from its gold basis as to stand at variance with it, as it does when an ounce of gold may be bought for less or more than an ounce of gold, as has been done in numerous instances I could quote.

Poor "A.E.J." says that the formula must always be 1 oz. of gold = 80s. The FACTS, however, hit him in the eye.

And in conclusion, if I desired to throw Marx at the head of "A.E.J.," as many of my critics seem to do with me, I might ask him when did Marx ever make the mistake of assuming that Value and Price were identical. A strict acceptance of all "A.E.J." writes about would land one there.

Yours, etc.,
A. E. COOK.

"A.E.J." HANDS COOK THE "SQUASH."

I regret to hear that Mr. Cook has been ill, and trust that he does not ascribe it to my criticism. My correspondent's expression of grief because I have "marred" my criticism by "uncharitable attacks on the S.L.P." is duly noted. True, in the political fight I am not much given to charity, and the same may be said, I fear, of almost, if not quite all, members of the S.P.G.B. For which reason it is as well for any political organisation which runs up against us if it does not need that prop of the decrepit.

Mr. Cook enters the discussion in order that "light may be ventilated on a difficult subject." I certainly agree that so dark a mystery as Mr. Cook makes of "Money" can do with the illumination of a breath of fresh air. But as for "Marxian Socialists" being "absolutely afraid to tackle" the matter, the truth is that there is nothing to tackle—Kautsky notwithstanding.

"Gold as a commodity must be subject to the same economic laws that all other commodities are subject to," says Mr. Cook, concluding: "If that be so, then it must have a price even as other commodities have."

Cannot Mr. Cook understand that gold differs from all other commodities in this—it is taken from them all to be the universal equivalent? As gold differs in this respect from all other commodities, so it differs from them in that the only possible way in which it can find a "price" is by declaring itself as itself in terms which in its case can only symbolise itself. So one ounce of gold is always equal to an ounce of gold, and always equal to £3 17s. 10½d.

If Mr. Cook wished to make the point he says he went a funny way about it, and it seems he imagines commodities are equated to money terms, whereas they are equated to gold expressed in money terms.

If money becomes a mental standard, that is to say if the prices of commodities can be fixed in terms of money without money being used, that does not mean that money is capable of being "so detached from its gold basis as to stand at variance with it" so that "an ounce of gold will exchange for more or less than an ounce of gold." Prices may be fixed in imagination; money of account may appear; money may become purely formal or mental; but if this "money of account," this formal or mental money, can become detached from its gold basis what foundation has it? Prices may be fixed in imagination and in terms of imaginary money, but goods are not sold for formal or mental or imaginary money. What, therefore, is the use of equating them to anything else than that for which they are to be exchanged—gold?

Money can never become so "purely formal" that commodities can be equated to its terms instead of to its substance, and the attempt to equate gold to the substance of money—which is gold—is pure farce.

Mr. Cook says "I realise that the measure of gold cannot be gold, but value or abstract average socially-necessary labour. This is rubbish. In the first place he himself proceeds to

show that gold *can* be the measure of gold, as iron can of iron; in the second place it is absurd to say that value can be the measure of gold, for it can not. The boot is on the other trotter: it is gold that is the measure of value.

Mr. Cook is all at sea again when he says that "it is not the iron that is measuring the iron, but that mental standard of weight termed one lb." Nothing of the sort. It is the iron which measures the iron, and not by any mental or imaginary process, but really and actually, by means of a quality they possess in common—weight.

But the original point of discussion was Mr. Cook's statement that in certain circumstances the price of an ounce of gold would fall from 80s. to 40s. In this letter he proves the case against himself when he says: "When gold assumes the function of money—of being the universal equivalent of all other commodities—then all rises and falls in the value of gold are expressed in the movements up and down of all prices." Let us take it at that, then.

Taking the figures Mr. Cook used for the purpose of his argument, gold is worth 80s. an ounce. Owing to the time taken to produce it being lessened by half, however, the "price" of gold, Mr. Cook claims, falls to 40s. per ounce, the reason being that its value has fallen. Now let's see how this fall in the value of gold is "expressed in the movements up and down of all prices."

A. 1 oz. gold = 80s. = X Y % of all other commodities.

B. 2 ozs. gold = 80s. = X Y % of all other commodities.

The lowering of the value of gold, proclaiming itself in the way Mr. Cook claims, leaves the prices of other commodities untouched. His own words dismiss him from the discussion.

Now to answer my correspondent's questions. The Bank of England suspended specie payments from 1797 to 1819. The reason was not that implied by Mr. Cook. It was the simple reason which is compelling our rulers along a similar path to-day. At that time England was not only furnishing an army and a navy against France, but was subsidising her various and voracious allies. While this was partly done with products, it had largely to be done with gold. We do not produce gold here, so it had to be obtained. Pitt practically stole the gold reserve of the Bank of England, but he gave them legal authority to suspend cash payments. This demand for gold enhanced its purchasing power and meets Mr. Cook's point re bullion. Gold was at a premium. But whether it wore the impress of the State or not made no difference in this respect. It is rubbish to say that gold in the form of bullion could buy more than gold in the form of sovereigns, weight for weight. Mr. Cook, peering down into the depths to find "a mental standard capable of becoming so detached from its gold basis as to stand at variance with it," finds the wrong thing because the right one is floating on the surface. He says it is money. But it is not—it is the symbol £. This, of course, may be made to represent money so ideal that it does not exist at all—not even in imagination. And the more ideal is the money it pretends to stand for, the more divorced its celestial soul is from the "damned yellow earth" which is its carnal substance and which men do so "anker arter," the more acutely will it "stand at variance" with its "gold basis." It will buy less than bullion not because it is sovereigns but because it is not. And that's that.

As for the other instance the same preliminary conditions may be instanced. Then exigencies of the war have placed gold at a premium because all belligerent countries' imports far exceed their imports and they need gold to settle the balances. Gold being at a premium, the country (or company) exporting gold demands a higher ratio of exchange in whatever they exchange their gold for. They certainly do not exchange their gold for gold, therefore Mr. Cook's instance would not, anyway, support his theory that "an ounce of gold may be bought for more or less than an ounce of gold (receivers of stolen plate barred). They exchange it for bills of exchange, which play so large a part in international trade. These bills are of money or price term denominations, hence it looks as

though the ratio of bullion and money does change. And that's that. A. E. J.

"SOME" JOHNNY WALKER.

We have received the following letter from Mr. Walker upon the subject of this discussion. It looks as though our "A.E.J." has interfered in a sort of family row with the usual result—he "cops it" from both sides.

TO THE EDITORS.

Sirs,—Your contributor "A.E.J." has also made a glaring error. It occurs where he says "This value is, in the case of all commodities, measured by quantity; for instance, double the amount of the same commodity contains double the value."

"A.E.J." is correct when he says "double the amount of the same commodity contains double the value," he is certainly in error when he says it is measured by quantity.

An illustration will make this clear:
20 Pins = 20 Shillings quantitatively

But are they equal in Value?

Value is the name we give to abstract labour and is determined (measured) by the Socially Necessary Labour Time embodied in the commodities (the phenomenal form of value).

This quantitative relation is continually varying, whereas value never varies; 10 hours are always 10 hours, whether embodied in 1 pair or 20 pairs of boots: a very different thing.

A. E. Cook erred when he equated gold to itself instead of a commodity of a different kind but of like value; the result was disastrous—for Cook.

Yours Faithfully

WM. WALKER.

P.S. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Editor of the "Socialist."

HIS CHANGE, WITH THANKS.

A happy thought, that, to finish up with. Possibly it will be disastrous—for Walker.

In replying to my critic the first point to be noted is that Mr. Walker himself admits the correctness of my illustration that double the amount of the same commodity contains double the value. It is as well that Mr. Walker admits this, for I should not have the heart to attempt to reveal so subtle a truth. But this illustration was given to prevent misunderstanding as to my meaning. What does Mr. Walker do in order to prove me wrong? He deliberately ignores my illustration, which, dealing with quantities of the same commodities, limited my meaning.

What I intended to convey was that in a given sort of commodity the value would correspond to the quantity. I should be the last to claim that I expressed myself well, but at all events Mr. Walker's admission shows that he was not misled. We cannot all write as clearly as my critic does when he says "Value is the name we give to abstract labour." (Had I tried to explain this I might have left the impression that the labour was not so abstract but that it retained one quality—it had to be socially necessary labour.) And again, had I tried to explain that value is "determined by the socially necessary labour time embodied in the commodities," I should assuredly have gone astray after my clumsy fashion, and written that it was the labour and not the labour time which is embodied.

But really when I said value is measured by quantity I certainly did not mean "determined." To my mind the verb to measure is to ascertain the quantity or dimensions of a thing. Though the socially necessary labour embodied in a commodity determines its value it does not disclose it, for the simple reason that one does not know how much such labour is embodied. This amount has to be ascertained by measurement. And how is it measured? Quantitatively, in spite of what Mr. Walker says. One named Marx wrote ("Capital," Chap. III): "The first chief function of money is to supply commodities with the material for the expression of their values, or to represent their values as Magnitudes of the same denomination, qualitatively equal and quantitatively comparable. It thus serves as a universal measure of value."

Values, therefore, are quantitatively comparable, i.e., may be compared or measured by quantity—as I said. And money measures all values—not embodied labour, as Mr. Walker says. And that's that. A. E. J.

BY THE WAY.

We have grown accustomed to hearing our masters and their henchmen lay claim to their fitness to run and rule the universe. But the most casual consideration of the subject shows how entirely unwarrantable the assumption is. Turn where we will we find nought but chaos and anarchy prevalent. Only a few months ago Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking on foreign policy, said that "Labour is quite unfit mentally and by training to deal with the questions that will come up for discussion." The whole purport of the noble lord's speech being that the workers' sole function was to produce wealth for the employing class and to fight when necessary in defence of master's interests. Our intelligent (!) rulers, who by training and so forth one might expect to accomplish great things, blunder on from muddle to even greater muddle. Take the following, which is not an isolated case:

Sir Leo Chiozza Money states in the Parliamentary Papers that a ship carrying about 1,200 quarters of home-grown wheat from Sutton Bridge, King's Lynn, and Wisbech to Newcastle was sunk by the enemy some few days ago. "Foodstuffs," he added, "are carried coastwise only when there is an absence of transport facilities, and the Shipping Controller is constantly in touch with the Railway Executive on the subject."—Daily News, Feb. 7th, 1918.

Here we have a glorious illustration of our masters' "directive ability." The all-for-the-Army policy brings into being "an absence of transport facilities" and foodstuffs are sent from one part of the country to another coastwise, with the result that the cargo is lost.

Evidently some of the Government departments have not yet heard of the "Economy Campaign."

We remember hearing something about a War Aims Committee, which we gathered was formed for the purpose of enlightening us on the noble aims and aspirations of the Allies. Up to the moment of writing one must confess that, in spite of the intense yearning one has for this information, very little has been vouchsafed. Of late we have heard a great deal about democracy and that democratic institution known as the House of Commons, where the democratically elected representatives of a free and enlightened democracy carry out the people's will. Now in such a place one would have thought that it would be easy to obtain information regarding the Allies' war aims, as we so often hear that this is a "war for democracy." One member of this august body, therefore, endeavoured to elicit some information on this theme. Let me quote the "Daily Telegraph," Jan. 31st—

Mr. King (Somerset N.) asked the Foreign Secretary whether the territorial acquisitions assigned to Italy by the Quatrepartite Treaty made in London on April 26th, 1915, were regarded as war aims of Italy without the attainment of which the war must be indefinitely continued.

Mr. Balfour: I do not propose to discuss in public the terms of the secret treaty to which he refers. (Cheers.)

Mr. King: Will the right hon. gentleman say whether there is such a secret treaty or not?
M. Balfour: I do not know that need even go that length.

From which it will be readily seen how this democratic government which came into power in December, 1916, to bring the war for democracy to a successful conclusion (and incidentally to tell the people "the whole truth"), enlightens the people of these isles regarding its war aims.

While women of the working class wait hours on end in food queues members of the master class have been quietly filling the larder. The issuing of what is termed the Food Hoarding Amnesty Order tends to show to what an alarming extent the practice of the "civic virtue" of putting a little bit away for a rainy day has grown. The week of grace (an official example of compounding a felony, by the way) allowed these "patriots" to disgorge their hoards by quietly communicating with the local food committees, where no names need be mentioned

and no questions were asked, is an interesting study of how good the devil is to his own.

The various agencies of the ruling class in this land of liberty never tire of telling us what an unclean thing is "Prussian militarism." In the pages of this journal we have from time to time referred to its counterpart here and its sinister effects. Mention has already been made of a grateful country's reward to its incapacitated heroes. Further light on this subject is to hand which illustrates the despicable parsimony of the possessing class. The following letter was addressed to the daily papers:

Sir,—Some time ago I exposed an odious practice on the part of medical boards—that of asking the gallant men, when coming up for re-examination, what wages they were earning. We got this abolished after a stiff fight. Now they have adopted another dodge just as bad. They ask the men what work they are doing, and so can make a pretty good guess as to the wages, when down comes the pension!

Not a day goes by without complaints reaching me. This must be stopped. It is the business of these boards to assess the men's disability, not to find out what wages they are earning. The men should be encouraged to work and so add to their pension.

I hope some members of Parliament will insist on an enquiry into the methods of these medical boards, as they did with regard to the recruiting boards. It is high time. I can put forward some startling evidence if they do.

FREDERICK MILNER.

11 Hereford-gardens, W.1.

The old old story of hav'em and do'em.

Quite recently the penny sensations came out with scare headlines proclaiming that Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik leaders, were in receipt of German pay. Shortly after came an official denial from M. Litvinoff, the plenipotentiary of the Bolshevik Government, "denouncing the documents as forgeries, the work of some agent of the ex-Tsar's secret police, or of some agent of the German Government, which is anxious to get rid of the Bolshevik regime, lest it should prove infectious and kindle the fire of a revolution in Germany." Thus are we enlightened concerning the activities of those in other climes.

Lord Rhondda and Mr. J. R. Clynes have seen fit to send a message to the men at the front on the subject of queues. Doubtless the news is breaking through that while the men must fight the women (and the kiddies) must wait. Lord Rhondda delivered himself of the following:

You can be in good heart about the folks at home. The health statistics were never better in our history. . . . Rationing schemes, which mean share and share alike for everybody, in every class, are about to be put into operation throughout Great Britain, and I hope that under the new arrangements queues will now disappear. His Majesty the King will be on rations as well as the humblest of his subjects.

Mr. Clynes winds up his lengthy message thus:

But this shortage applies only to some articles of food, and with improved distribution and rationing, for which the Government is responsible, very little suffering will any longer exist.

Fairness of distribution is guaranteed, and our soldiers at the front should not be misled by false reports of starvation of the dear ones at home. If famine is to finish this war it is the enemy and not Britain that will first go down.

—Daily News, Feb. 23rd, 1918.

We will adopt the Asquithian philosophy and "wait and see."

In the debate in the House on Wednesday, Feb. 20th, on the Army Estimates, a speaker drew attention to a matter which is closely related to the paragraph above. It is indeed interesting. Here it is:

Mr. McCallum Scott drew attention to the inadequacy of the scale of separation allowances, having regard to the prevailing conditions and the heavy cost of food. Seventy per cent. of the children certified as necessitous by the Glasgow School Board were the children of soldiers or sailors.

Now you can pay your money and take your choice. Peradventure friend Clynes, a noble

soul, was not in the House when Mr. McCallum Scott was speaking.

Various deputations have from time to time been selected from among the trade union officials to visit the workers of other lands and, in the interest of the Government, convey the impression that they represent the opinions of labour in England. The "labour" mission to Russia was a glaring example of this duplicity. Now there is a similar excursion of "labour" leaders visiting America. A London daily paper, in an editorial, speaks of this "delegation" in the following terms:

At the present time there is a party of British trade unionists in America. They were selected by the War Cabinet, not by the Labour movement in this country, and they are in point of fact utterly unrepresentative of the solid mass of British labour. On so vital a question as the holding of an International Labour Conference Mr. Appleton's attitude for example is diametrically opposed to the decision of the four million members represented by the Trade Union Congress. It is well that that should be recognised in America, for we cannot allow differences of purpose to be assumed where, in fact, they do exist.—Daily News, Feb. 10th, 1918.

So much, then, for the "leaders" of the democracy. That they are being recognised as labour frauds by the nonconformist conscience organ is in itself a recognition of the truth of the Socialist case against these wolves in sheep's clothing.

The following extract is indeed rich. It concerns a gentleman who is alleged to have the welfare of the forces at heart, but in whose case patriotism seems to be a profitable thing.

MR. BOTTOMLEY'S CHARITY.

Mr. Alfred Manners has sent to the Swindon local paper a balance-sheet of the accounts paid in connection with a lecture in aid of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Christmas Parcel Fund addressed by Mr. Horatio Bottomley. The most interesting items are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Total receipts	103	2	9
Entertainment tax	38	9	5
Paid to Mr. Bottomley	87	12	0
Balance for Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund	37	10	9

The rather nice problem is raised whether the soldiers and sailors ought to be more grateful to Mr. Bottomley or Mr. Bottomley to the soldiers and sailors.—Daily News, Feb. 22nd, 1918.

We have often heard the question asked at our propaganda meetings, "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" Concerning capitalist society we can vouchsafe the answer, confirmed by overwhelming evidence, that the labour hacks of the Government do the dirty here and now. A recent illustration from the halfpenny edition of anti-Socialism I append:

Mr. Ben Tillett, speaking at Weston-Super-Mare yesterday, said that had Russia held the war would have been over three months ago.

"The idiots ran revolution against revolution," he said, "and are thus responsible for the most damnable disgrace settled on humanity."

—Daily Express, Feb. 25th, 1918.

What a colossal humbug, to use the mildest term that fits the case, this man is! Who has not read of Bloody Nick's treachery to "his Allies" which has recently seen the light of day, and which would have resulted in a peace for Russia long months ago had no upheaval taken place there.

THE SCOUT.

WORDS THAT BEAR REPEATING.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our good will and Socialist fraternity and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

The World for the Workers.

—S.P.G.B. Manifesto, September 1914.

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the Socialist Standard through the usual channels should communicate with the Head Office, 193 Grays Inn Rd., W.C., when regular delivery will be arranged.

A LOOK ROUND.—Continued.

On the same day Sir Harry Johnston, in his presidential address to the Association of Public School Science Masters, said we had muddled and misconducted our operations by land and sea through lack of knowledge on the part of those at home, and to a less degree of those abroad. When such outrages as the commandeering of the British Museum were perpetrated, it behoved all who loved learning to swear a solemn oath that they would save England from the barbarism with which she was threatened by Sir Alfred Mond, Lord Rothermere, and the Cabinet behind them. In this hour of our abasement, our uneducated government, which could neither carry the war to a conclusive victory, nor make peace on equitable terms, was engaged in its madness or levity in hacking at the foundations of sure knowledge.

There was no fine.

Evidence is not wanting to show how our patriots are taking advantage of the excessive toil, hunger, and suffering to squeeze huge profits out of the workers. Not content with the results of the process of squeezing them to the limit in the workshop, there are those who are prepared to cheat them out of the little they have been allowed to retain in the form of wages. Certainly, exploitation takes place only once—in the workshop—but this fact does not prevent one from being cheated after he has left the pay-box. In these days it is exceedingly difficult to follow the market, and one can go day after day to purchase the same article, only to find that it has "gone up." If remonstrated with the trader will tell you it has "gone up" to him, that he is entirely in the hands of the manufacturer or merchant, and as we must eat and drink to live there is nothing else to do but pay or starve.

Early on in the war Mr. Lloyd George said that the worst enemy Britain had to fight—a far greater enemy than the Germans—was the demon Drink. Let us take an example of how this demon had been vanquished. The test is by gross profits:

	1913-14	1917
	£	£
Allsopp's	68,100	239,700
Ind, Coope & Co.	94,100	204,700
Watney, Coomb & Reid's	904,200	1,112,900
Salt & Co.	30,300	98,100
	(1911-12)	

At the annual meeting of Allsopp's the other day the chairman observed that "the restriction on the output of beer had been to the benefit of the brewers, who had been able to secure a fair price because there was not too much of the article on the market. It had also been to the benefit of the State because of the tendency, in view of higher prices, not to drink more than was good for one. And it had assisted the claim of the temperance people." Thus are two apparently opposing interests reconciled. One shareholder was frank enough to remark that he had given up drinking beer and taken to wine instead. "Beer is getting too much like swipes." Of course we know who have to be contented with the swipes. To account for a higher profit on a reduced output it is explained that as the brewers are allowed to raise the price of beer, while the gravity, and therefore the cost of production, are lowered, a larger margin of profit is secured on each quantity sold.

One day those who drink swipes will awake.

A great deal of comment and controversy has arisen as the result of the verdict given in the recent case where a soldier, returned from the front, murdered his wife in a moment of thwarted sex-motive. The woman had violated the moral law—whatever that is. The husband forgave her, and then, afterwards took her life. Among others Mr. Hall Caine entered the lists in defence of constituted law, questioning the judge's authority to go beyond the written law, and entirely condemning him for pardoning the man.

Mr. Hall Caine believes that the judge, in

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

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WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

acquitting him, was actuated by a mistaken sentiment. In a long article in the "Sunday Herald" (3.2.18) he sets out to show how such procedure tends to "outrage the sense of justice, and disturb the stability and authority of law."

Without going into Mr. Caine's arguments (which would raise a large issue and divert me from the point I wish to make) it is sufficient to say that he himself is led to express a mistaken sentiment, based upon unscientific reasoning and neglect of historical fact. The point I wish to make is this: The verdict given in this case shows that what was known (mistakenly) as an absolute standard is now open to modification. Not because our judges are capable of scientifically interpreting a certain act from the point of view of cause and effect, but as a matter of expediency.

The prisoner had been engaged in the killing of Germans, and as an instrument in such process was a "useful" member of society in the period in which we exist. The woman—well! was she not better out of the way? For such is the implication. Is it a violation of the moral code when international capitalism sends to their deaths millions of its subjects and slaves? Assuredly not—from the standpoint of the ruling class.

The woman's conduct was determined by the conditions operating in the present form of society. Capitalism killed her; the husband was merely the instrument. When the judge acquitted him he acquitted capitalism from all blame.

LUCILIUS.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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—:—:

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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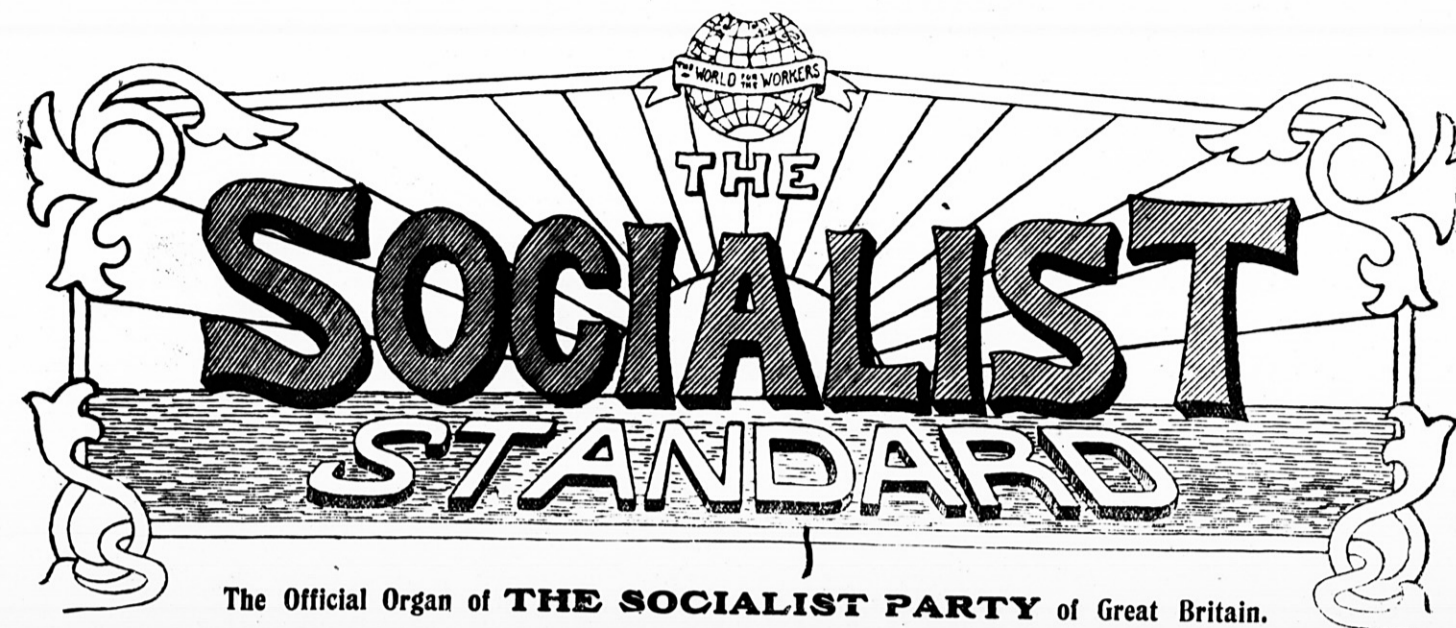
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LONDON APRIL, 1918

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A LESSON IN TERMS.

DISTINCTIONS THE WORKERS MUST UNDERSTAND.

Wealth used for the reproduction of wealth is capital, says the orthodox school of political economy. This definition can only arise through failure to understand the fact that only in certain historical conditions and in a certain mode of production, does wealth become capital.

It is the habit of the orthodox school to treat of the present system of society as though it had always existed and always will. Hence wealth and capital are to them synonymous.

It was Karl Marx who laid bare the distinctive features of the present mode of wealth production, and in so doing treated it as having peculiarities that never existed in any phase of society that preceded it. What Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Haeckel, and a host of others have done within the domain of biology Marx, Engels, and Morgan have done for sociology. There has been a development from one form of life to another, and there has also been a development from one form of society to another.

The truth of this theory has become firmly established, but one would hardly credit it when listening to certain people who, while registering their approval of the now well-established facts of biology, completely fall to pieces when a similar process of scientific reasoning is applied within the domain of sociology. Thus terms that can only apply to-day are made use of in reference to past societies, whilst terms that should apply only to the past are made to do duty in reference to the present social order. It is through failure to understand this that the great confusion exists about the terms "wealth" and "capital."

In treating of the capitalist mode of wealth production Marx begins his investigation in the words:

"The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as 'an immense accumulation of commodities,' its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of the commodity."

How different this, from the method of the orthodox school, who failed to observe that the present mode of wealth production possessed characteristics that no other system ever possessed.

The chief reason for production to-day is the realisation of profit. The capitalists are not in the least concerned about the quality of the goods that are being produced. Their only concern is that, when the goods are placed upon the market and sold, they obtain a profit. This they must have, and in order to get it they care not in the least whether it is derived from the manufacture of bibles or beer, bullets or bread, boots or burglar jemmies.

In no form of society previous to capitalism did production for the great markets of the world exist; this is one reason why we must

differ from those who imply that wealth and capital mean the same thing, in each and every set of social conditions. They remind us of a certain section, once famous in the world of science, who held that the theory of evolution did not apply to man.

In early tribal society man was in possession of but crude means of production, and his economic position was certainly very precarious. Says Prof. Jenks of the early savage: "The actual savage is usually a miserable, underfed, and undersized creature, naked and shivering, in constant terror of dangers seen and unseen, with no family ties as we understand them, with no certain food supply and no settled abode."

For participation in the chase the savage hunter had only one motive, namely, to use that which he gained by the chase to satisfy his needs—to feed and clothe him. There was no world market for him, no great social production with its organised factory system. It was in such conditions as these that we might say that wealth was used for the re-production of wealth.

Only when we arrive at the present mode of production can we find the true meaning of capital. The subject must be treated theoretically, as Karl Kautsky put it in his brilliant pamphlet, "From Handicraft to Capitalism." The starting points of bourgeois society were peasant-farming and handicraft. The peasant family originally satisfied all their requirements. They produced all the food they needed, their tools, clothing, etc. They produced as much as they required and no more. Gradually, however, owing to the progress of agriculture, they produced a surplus of things which they did not want for their own use, and this surplus they exchanged for other things which they did want.

Now was the peasant a producer of commodities. The wheat he produced for his own use was not a commodity; that which he produced to exchange was. The illustration meets the point. That which is produced for use is not a commodity; that which is produced for sale is a commodity.

Only in certain conditions does an article become a commodity, and only in certain conditions does wealth become capital. A machine, for instance, could be used for the purpose of supplying some family need. Vast numbers of sewing machines are used to fulfil this function, but it would be absurd to call these machines capital.

Only when the machines are used for the purpose of turning out goods by means of purchased labour-power, to be placed upon the market, do they become capital.

Capital, then, to give it its true meaning in as simple language as possible is wealth used for the production of profit. With this definition it is stripped of all those mysterious pro-

perties that so many people seem to think it possesses. The great means of wealth production that are socially manipulated by the working class are individually owned by the capitalist class. Social production with individual appropriation is the characteristic of modern society. Let us produce, no matter what, so long as we get a profit, is the motto of the ruling class.

It is by reason of the existence of capitalism that the anomaly of starvation in the midst of plenty is with us. The individual ownership of the means of life gives rise to the vast production of commodities to deluge the world's markets. Goods are produced in wild profusion, and far in excess of the effective demand for them, until finally the warehouses are choked and the markets glutted. Production is strangled, a commercial crisis descends upon the community, and hundreds of thousands of workers are flung into the industrial reserve army, commonly known as the unemployed.

In earlier stages of society if man suffered from lack of food it was only because of the inadequacy of his means to stave off any natural upset that might occur. But to-day, through man's triumph over the forces of nature, he can produce wealth in sufficient abundance, irrespective of climatic conditions, to assure a comfortable existence for all. Under capitalist ownership and capitalist production, however, the workers, who are the wealth producers, suffer their greatest poverty when the warehouses are full of the wealth which they have produced and the markets surfeited with the products of their toil.

It is, of course, quite easy for the workers to accept off-hand any of the statements of certain pedants and sycophants, because the workers have been trained to think along capitalist lines, a course which the pseudo-Socialists encourage when they say that Socialism means the common ownership of land and capital, as do the I.L.P. and some pamphleteers of the B.S.P.

But with the ripening economic conditions and the burden of economic exploitation pressing more heavily upon the workers a way out of the horrible conditions will be sought, and it is for the Socialist Party to show the way. Confused terminology, which gives rise to confused ideas, must be scattered to the winds. That is one of the first essentials of sound progress. The workers must learn to appreciate the true meaning of such terms as "wealth" and "capital" before they can understand the nature of the process by which they are robbed and held in bondage, and therefore before they can become fit and efficient instruments of working class emancipation. ROBERTS.

NOTE. OUR NEW ADDRESS—
28 Union Street, London, W.

BY THE WAY.

In the days of long ago—that is to say in the period before the murder campaign on a colossal scale was launched—a Liberal government introduced and passed a Bill having for its object the "amelioration" of the poverty problem. With a great fanfare of trumpets Lloyd George was, by his insurance Act, going to lead the workers to the green pastures and beside the still waters. The festering sore of poverty, generated by capitalist wage-slavery, was becoming acute. So the Welsh magician started off with his social reform entertainment. The poverty of the working class under capitalism was so intense that they needed State health and unemployment insurance, maternity benefits when a new and potential wage slave was ushered into this vale of tears, and old age pensions when the aged worker, the human sucked orange, could no longer be profitably exploited, and therefore could no longer earn a wage.

Such was the position of the working class a few years ago. To-day, in spite of the fact that large numbers of them have been killed or incapacitated, and instead of the workman running after the employer the position has been reversed, the poverty of our class stands out above all else, showing in all its nakedness the callousness of capitalist greed.

The thinning of the ranks of the workers caused by the war, combined with their intensified poverty, has given our masters occasion to pause and think: What of the morrow? Therefore in order to prepare the way for the future wage slaves and prospective cannon fodder, "we," the master class, must act. In this connection I read that the Child Welfare and Maternity Bill which Mr. Hayes Fisher introduced in the House recently

is to secure the provision of milk for expectant mothers, and of more crèches where infants may be properly looked after.

Thus in Christian England in the year of disgrace 1918 are the Scriptures fulfilled, viz.: The poor ye have always with you. Fellow workers, stop and think! What does your support (active or passive) of capitalist Society mean for you and others of your class? It means slavery, poverty, and early graves.

Come, then, let us reason together and realise that the interest of the workers are one. Mate, its up to you!

**

Much hubbub was created some time ago on the question of the Proposed Stockholm Conference. Such a gathering of allied and "enemy" working men to discuss the war and peace was too awful a thing for our masters to contemplate at that time. They were strengthened in their attitude by the threat of Havelock Wilson that his seamen's union would not transport any English representatives. The following seems to have passed almost unnoticed.

"Lord Willoughby de Broke had a question on the Order Paper of the House of Lords yesterday calling attention to a statement in the 'Times' of March 1 that General Smuts had met Count Mensdorff (formerly Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to Great Britain) in Switzerland, and asking the Government to explain the episode. Earl Curzon said he had come without hesitation to the conclusion that a question of this sort if put might lead to a discussion, which it was highly undesirable should take place. The subject alluded to was mentioned by a member in the House of Commons, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, took the same view of the matter as he did, and declined to make any reply. If the noble lord persisted in putting the question, he should feel compelled to decline to answer it. Lord Willoughby de Broke withdrew the question unreservedly." ("Daily News," March 15th, 1918.)

Once again the good old gag, "Not in the public interest," is pressed into service.

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The Select Committee on National Expenditure have issued a report on the work of the

Ministry of Pensions, and the figures given show what a costly thing is the aftermath of war. In one part of the report the niggardliness of the ruling class is well portrayed. The newspaper from which I quote says—

At the same time the Committee sound a warning note against the grave danger that "a natural sentiment of benevolence and sympathy may cause a system of war pensions to expand into a widespread system of excessive grants at the expense of the taxpayer." They point out that the root cause of much expenditure that ought to have been avoided has been the admission into the Army of men of low physical categories, who have been put to work for which they have been unfitted.—"Daily News," March 16th, 1918.

Up to the present I have not noticed any indication of excessive "benevolence and sympathy" on the part of the ruling class toward their bruised and battered "heroes" when such happen to have been enlisted from what are frequently termed the lower orders.

**

On this question of pensions and grants one cannot fail to notice the difference in the treatment meted out when the recipient, or the relatives of the recipient, belong to what is known as the "uppath suckle." Quite recently an account appeared in the Press of the death of Lieut-Gen. Sir Stanley Maude, and shortly after an announcement was made that Parliament had voted a small gratuity of £25,000 to Lady Maude as a slight recognition of the services rendered to the country by her late husband. I have no fear whatever that her ladyship will start competing with her poorer sisters, who, too, have lost their husbands, in doorstep or office cleaning. No, emphatically no, the small emolument granted by a grateful country will endure unto the end. We have heard of late quite a lot of chatter about "equality of sacrifice"; we wait to see some semblance of equality of reward.

**

One other item in this connection. In the early days of the war a campaign was inaugurated for a pound a week pension and extra allowances for children. Mr. Asquith was in office at the time, and he appointed a committee to revise the scale of pensions. After Mr. Asquith had informed the House of the composition of this committee some discussion took place, and two extracts here would not be at all inappropriate.

Mr. Bonar Law hoped the committee would be of such a strong character that the Government would accept its findings and carry them out. He thought it would be unwise and against the interest of the women themselves to endow widows with so much of the public money that they would never have to work.

Mr. Asquith said he was more or less in complete agreement with Mr. Bonar Law. . . . The scale was more liberal than that of any of our Allies. He thought it would be unwise to create a class of persons who could live in ease without ever having to work.—"Reynolds's," Nov. 22nd, 1914.

Such is the policy of the ruling class when dealing with the dependents of their butchered workers. The dignity of labour is a fine thing—for the labourers; but the masters are not having any share in the dignity. It reminds us of the old lady who, on hearing the old saw: "Honesty is the best policy," remarked, "Thank Gawd I've done without it."

**

While we continue to hear a great deal about this war being waged for democracy, signs are not wanting that this tall talk is all moonshine. How little the ruling class care for the democracy was clearly evidenced a short time ago in the Peace Debate which took place on the King's Speech (why they call it his speech I do not know) when the question of some of the secret treaties was referred to.

Judging from the official replies to this question, it is abundantly clear that these matters are such that the democracy should not enquire into them, their duty being not to reason why, but to prepare themselves to do and die. Several passages are really worth recording because they show up so nicely how our gallant allies are animated by the desire to obtain reparation for the wrong done to poor Belgium—and to obtain some of the plums of the war for themselves. Says Lord Robert Cecil:

I must not spend too much time on the second great subject alluded to to-night, the question of the secret treaties. It is evident that I am in a great difficulty. We are bound by the treaties which we make not to divulge them. The Government represents the nation.

Mr. Hogge: It does not.
Lord R. Cecil: The undertakings of the Government are the undertakings of the nation [Hon. Members: No, no!] The late Government made these treaties, and we accept them as I hope every British Government will accept international obligations. . . . In any case, as long as those treaties exist, I say to the hon. member for Elland (Mr. Trevelyan), absolutely as long as those treaties exist, we are bound by them. When they ask us to repudiate treaties, it seems to me that these pacifists do not understand the elements of their creed. How are we ever to make any progress in international affairs unless we regard international obligations as sacred?

Some digression here took place on the question of the treaty with Albania, and Lord R. Cecil continued—

It is not only that we are bound by these treaties, but those treaties were entered into for certain definite objects and reasons—

Mr. Outhwaite: Annexations!
Lord R. Cecil: Not at all. They were entered into as part of war measures for this country.

Mr. Outhwaite: Annexations!
Lord R. Cecil: We obtained certain definite advantages. We obtained the assistance of Allies in our battles with our German enemy, and now we are asked, having obtained all we entered into treaties for, by those honourable gentlemen—those honourable gentlemen—to repudiate and discard those treaties. I know quite well how much these treaties lend themselves to misrepresentation and abuse in the country. I know they are not popular. I deeply regret it, but I do not deny it. I say that a government which, rather than incur unpopularity, would do the thing which those hon. members want us to do is unthinkable.—Official Report, Parliamentary Debates, February 18th, 1918. Cols. 229-30.

It is interesting to read that these treaties were entered into for "certain definite objects," and yet without thought "we" are animated with the loftiest of motives and singleness of purpose—just a sincere desire to make the world safe for democracy—the story of these secret commitments must forever remain hidden away from the public gaze, away from the eyes of those who are called upon to fight, and if need be, to die for them.

**

The Women's Liberal Federation recently held their annual council meeting at Westminster. From a newspaper report before me ("Daily News," 15.3.18) I read that Lady Aberconway, in her presidential address said that a great campaign was to be started in the Liberal interest against the evils from which the country suffered. "They were out for the abolition of poverty, ignorance, dirt preventable disease, vice and crime." I fancy that I have heard similar things before. In the year 1910 the Welsh wizard, Lloyd George, was "going to cleanse the land of poverty and want." Notwithstanding the fact that the Liberal party had been in office nine years at the time war was declared, the cleansing process had not proven very efficacious. Liberalism has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The party that could only find money enough for a paltry old age pension of 5s. per week at 70, and a miserable allowance for sickness and unemployment, can spend roughly five million pounds a day for war purposes. Truly remarkable, is it not?

**

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and a few other pacifists were the guests at a luncheon of the Cannibal Club (a really appropriate name for supporters of the present orgy of slaughter) in order to show whether they were "pacifists at any price." In the course of his remarks Mr. MacDonald said:

We have been wounded, and nearly all the wounds were below the belt. Some people say I am in favour of a peace on German lines. . . . I am in favour of a peace on democratic and liberal lines. I am not satisfied with any terms the Germans have yet offered. (Cheers.) Certainly not. There is not a proposition made by Germany yet that affords the foundation of a satisfactory peace.

Speaking of the Labour Party's war aims memorandum he said "it challenged German democracy to speak behind the backs and over the

heads of their Government. We are criminals if we do not try 24 hours a day, seven days a week, four weeks a month, and twelve months a year. If we fail our men in khaki are still there doing their job. We have to try to bring this home to the (German people.) (Cheers.) The report concludes by stating that in reply to further questions he answered "The whole of Bolshevism is against my nature. I am a law-and-order man." From the foregoing it will be readily seen how much Ramsay Mac is opposed to the war.

**

We read from time to time some amazing pronouncements uttered by those who govern us. Bearing in mind the statement that we have heard so often, namely, that Lloyd George had taken unto himself all the "big brains" of the country to assist him in running the war, one is at a loss to understand how it is that all these great men are continually contradicting one another. A recent case in point will illustrate this. Lloyd George in addressing the Free Church Council said:

There is no hunger. There is less hunger than there was when the first cannon shot was fired. There is less hunger in the land. There is no privation.

There is no lack of abundant food to sustain the strength of the people. There is, I am glad to be able to tell you, no prospect of such a deficiency.

So much for the Premier's statement. Now for that of the Food Controller, Lord Rhonda, whose views are expressed in the self same issue of the paper—

The outlook in bread and meat is not quite so happy as that of bacon. There was no cause for alarm, but there was cause for considerable anxiety. I should like to postpone or, if I can, avoid the rationing of bread.—"Daily News," March 14th, 1918.

Just one more. The President of the Board of Agriculture, Mr. Prothero, speaking a few days later added another warning note. He says—

As the war goes on and the death grapple stiffens, the issue turned more and more upon food. Food was the pivot of all activities, and food at the present moment trembled in the balance. That was why they appealed to the farmers to do their best.—"Reynolds's," March 17th, 1918.

Coupons being required for bacon and the price prohibitive, doubtless our masters can feel "happy" regarding this commodity. But what of cheese? This seems to have almost vanished. And as regards meat, well, have we not a whole one shilling and threepence worth, including bone, per week. To what a pass capitalism has brought us! Let us end it.

**

Speaking at the conference of the Fabian Research Department a short time ago, Mr. George Bernard Shaw delivered himself of the following: "One thing to be provided for in Labour Party organisation was the education of the members. One could get a tremendous electioneering organisation, and men who are extraordinarily keen and up to the dodge of keeping the register. There were such men in the country, but in his opinion they were the most ignorant. Nineteen out of twenty won't know what trade unionism means, and ninety-nine out of a hundred won't know what Socialism means."—(Reynolds's, March 17th, 1918.)

Of course we readily admit the truth of what the speaker stated concerning his friends who are continually obscuring the issue by designating themselves Socialists when they are at most social reformers or State capitalists. We Socialists have to thank Mr. Shaw for making this plain. To those who want to study Socialism.—read the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

**

Last month we quoted in this column an extract from a London daily paper concerning a lecture delivered by Mr. Horatio Bottomley. Since its appearance we have seen a reference to the matter in "John Bull," which is interesting because he, Bottomley, admits practically the whole of the case against him. Writing to the Editor of the "Star" he says:

My attention has been called to your issue of February 20th in which you publish certain figures relating to a lecture I delivered at Swindon from which it is made to appear that I received the sum of £87 12s. as against the sum of £37 10s. handed over to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund—whilst the

Government apparently also got £38 9s. 3d. by way of Entertainment Tax. Even if all these figures were correct, I should not feel that I had anything to be ashamed of. Having regard to the enormous pressure under which I work, and poor as I am, even £87 12s. would not tempt me in the ordinary way, to give up my week-end rest. Perhaps, however, you will permit me to mention that the lecture was arranged through a recognised agency, which had to defray the printing and advertising expenses, and which also took a substantial percentage of the receipts; whilst personally I had to meet railway and hotel charges. The net result was that, in the end, a sum of £37 came to me, out of which I repaid myself the hotel and travelling expenses, handing practically the whole of the balance, namely, £25, to the Business Government League, the entire financial burden of which at present falls upon my shoulders.

Now this is a very pretty story. In order to boost this zealous patriot and "friend" of the soldiers and sailors, an advertising agency had to "bill" the great Horatio, and this, of course, costs money. This item of expenditure was incidental to his visit, as likewise were the hotel and railway charges also. Even after these claims had been met Horatio admits that "the net result was that, in the end, a sum of £37 came to me." And very nice too! Only a few paltry shillings short of the amount paid to the fund whence some of it may dribble down the leaky channels of "charity" even as far as "our gallant heroes." And when Horatio says that he paid over the sum of £25 to the Business Government League, that is the Bottomley way of saying that he changed it from the right-hand pocket to the left. "Wherefor I larf, I dew, I larf."

THE SCOUT.

DOWN WITH LEADERS.

:O:

Labour leaders, to say the least, are useless to the workers in their conflict with the capitalist class. An organisation whose members have no desire to control affairs for themselves, and therefore hands over the management to certain individuals, by so doing gives them the opportunity to use that organisation to obtain any object they may have in view. And judging by the past actions of these leaders their purpose seems to be always the same, that is, to earn a reward from the capitalist by betraying the workers whose interest they are supposed to safeguard.

The amount of evidence accumulated against these traitors is enormous. On both the industrial field and the political they have played the traitorous part. A further exposure comes from Mr. Lloyd George, who is reported by the "Daily Telegraph" (2.1.17) to have stated in the House of Commons that "I am not unmindful of the fact that he" (the reference was to Mr. Arthur Henderson) "has helped us and the late Government very largely owing to his official position in the great struggle on the question of organising the man-power of this country and carrying through the Military Service Acts. He took a leading part in securing the support of organised labour for these measures."

We have there a clear and definite statement which leaves no reasonable doubt as to why Henderson was given a position in the Cabinet. He was useful in persuading the workers to quietly accept measures that would tighten the chains about them and make more secure the power of the capitalists to throw millions of men and boys into the horrors of war.

The quotation given is of value, not only as an exposure of Henderson, but also as an example of the conditions under which labour leaders in general are patronised by the capitalist class. That they retain their position only so long as they comply with these conditions is convincingly demonstrated by the same honourable gentleman who, in explaining why he gave Henderson the sack gave us yet another peep behind the scenes.

"Well," runs the "Daily Chronicle" report (14.8.17) of the Prime Minister's pronouncement, "all he could say was that he had seen every member who was present at the Cabinet on the day of the discussion, and had asked them the impression left on their minds. The impression, they stated, which had been left was that

Mr. Henderson intended to use all his influence to turn down the Stockholm Conference at Friday's meeting."

This time Henderson failed to do what was expected of him, and consequently was forced to "resign." The length of time he remained in the Cabinet gives us some slight idea of the amount of work he performed in the interest of the capitalist class, and considering the number of these political scavengers they employ, it is not in the least surprising that our work of working-class enlightenment should prove so hard.

Such is the worth of the Labour Party to the workers. "It has," said Mr. Philip Snowden, "betrayed working class interests in every direction, and the labour problems which have to be solved have been in the main created by the incompetence and conduct of the Labour Party. The Labour Party have been more capitalist than the employers and more militarist than the Government."

—"Labour Leader," 12.7.17.

Mr. Philip Snowden, who made this discovery many months ago, should now try and explain his position as a member of that capitalist and militarist "Labour" Party which he so roundly condemns. Is the £100 a year which binds him to it a stronger shackle than he can break?

The shameful way in which the workers have been betrayed should surely force them to consider a method by which their organisation can be made proof against the undermining operations of such traitors. The first essential is that they must thoroughly understand their position as wage slaves. They must realise they live only by the sale of their labour power to the capitalist class, who, owning the means of wealth production, are able to claim the wealth produced, returning to the producing class in the form of wages just sufficient for them to exist upon on the average, and to produce a generation of future wage slaves—in other words, just enough to enable them to reproduce their efficiency in the widest sense of the term.

The sale of the workers' labour-power taking place under the same conditions that regulate the sale of any other commodity, it follows that with the continued improvement in machinery, "dilution of labour" still further applied, the rapid development of science, and the general speeding-up, their labour-power must tend more and more to exceed the demand for it, with the result that the effect on wages, or the price of labour power, is the same as that on any other commodity when the supply exceeds the demand—its price falls. Thus we have the producers of the world's wealth forced to accept wages that barely supply the physical necessities of life.

Living under a set of social conditions that condemn him to a life of sordid poverty, the worker, to obtain relief, must change those conditions from top to bottom. That is to say, the means of wealth production and distribution being the private property of the capitalist class, the latter are enabled to use them to exploit the workers. Since, therefore, the whole of the evil conditions of working-class existence spring from this property condition, the workers must make those things needed for the production and distribution of wealth the common property of Society.

The defenders of private property having, through their political power, control of the armed forces, use them to support their position. The first step, therefore, towards their overthrow, is to secure political power. The need, then, is for a working class political party the members of which, united by a common understanding of their class interest, would have no need for leaders.

On the other hand, knowing the direction in which they must fight, the action of every member would be controlled to that one end, and any treachery on the part of any member, would be promptly dealt with. Such a party would be proof against leaders and therefore against betrayal by leaders.

Such is the character of the S.P.G.B. To those workers who understand and accept our Declaration of Principles we extend an earnest invitation to join us hereafter in the fight for Socialism.

E. L. WAKE.

London School of Economics & Political Science 2007
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in his conception of the pro-war "Clarion" as a Socialist organ.

"Millions of Socialists whom we had believed to be international," says Mr. Brown, loose again as always, "are now engaged in mutual slaughter." And he asks if "MacC." will maintain that these men are both Socialists and Internationalists. Our comrade's position, as our party position, is that if they are Socialists they are Internationalists. Whether they are or are not Socialists, and therefore Internationalists, depends not upon whether they are engaged in mutual slaughter, but upon something which our critic does not think of sufficient importance to give us any information upon, i.e., whether they are willing or unwilling instruments in the war.

Ed. Com.

SOCIETY AND MORALS.

PART VII. THE MORALS OF CAPITALISM.

We have seen that, under the wages system, the prime force used to subject the worker to exploitation is the economic pressure which bears upon him by reason of his propertyless condition. This condition, it is evident seeing the economic inferiority of the capitalists, depends for its perpetuation upon the recognition by the workers of the "rights" of capitalist property. The bourgeoisie are not a military class like the feudal nobility or the Roman freemen, but depend upon the working class even for the military force they command.

We can see, therefore, how extremely important it is to the capitalists that the proletariat should be contented with their social status, or, at least, see in capitalism a system of production at once necessary, inevitable, and just. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that these same conditions demand the continual readjustment of the institutions of the system in proportion as the workers as a class change their views regarding things social.

The very subtlety of the relation between himself and the capitalist is favourable to the fostering of the illusion in the workers' mind that he is a "free agent." The appearance of a contract "freely" entered into with an employer who, to a certain extent, he is free to choose, veils the real nature of the relation. The worker, as a rule, fails to see that economic necessity is a compelling force even more powerful and imperative than the whip and torture of the chattel-slave era. He does not see that they who monopolise those things by which alone he can live dictate, as a class, if, when, and where he shall live and under what conditions. On the contrary, he believes the doctrines assiduously taught him by the master class through the dupes and hirelings, the teachers, politicians, parsons, pressmen, and "men of literature." These, assisted by a whole series of institutions suited to the purpose, beset the worker from the cradle to the grave with influences which tend to mould his mind to the form most suitable to the needs of the bourgeoisie.

Let him should be indolgent and lazy in the production of profits he is taught that "toil" is in itself a virtue (his teachers forget to mention that for him, like other virtues, it must be its own reward) and that the interests of both employer and employee being identical, a benefit to the former is, in the long run, beneficial to the latter also.

Let the standard of comfort he aspires to be unduly raised (leading to a demand for increased wages) the worker is enjoined to be thrifty, frugal, and sober. Even poverty itself is glossed into a kind of goodness. He is told of the "peace of mind" which comes with practising the "virtue" of contentment. Discontent is branded as a vice and its preachers as "disturbers of the peace." The very term "agitator" acquires a vicious and sinister significance.

History is perverted; elaborately faked "histories" being written for use in the schools and out of them, which emphasise the "evils" of previous or contemporary non-capitalist forms

of society, whilst showing in the most favourable light possible modern institutions and especially the capitalist class. The "historians" prove (!) that all revolutions have meant only anarchy, chaos, and bloodshed, with no beneficial results. "Reform," is, however, allowed to be useful and good when judiciously applied by "wise statesmen." Thus is the maxim driven home—never rebel, but trust the "great men" at the helm of State and industry.

"Patriotism," so useful as an obscurant of class differences, a means of dividing the working class into national sections and of rallying them to fight their masters' battles under the disguise of "national interests," is cultivated and characterised as a cardinal virtue in these "histories." National traditions, character, and achievements are, with this end in view, glorified and shown off in exaggerated contrast with those of foreign nationalities. Thus the working-class child in England is told of the glorious empire which is his "heritage," but of which, in all probability, he will never possess more than the clay which clings to his boots.

The Press, owned by and used in the interests of the bourgeoisie, ably carries on the work begun in the schools by selecting, misrepresenting, and suppressing information regarding the events of the day. The religious organisations, by fostering ignorance and superstition, also do their share in the same mind-moulding process, though with decreasing efficiency as religion becomes more and more undermined by the growth of scientific knowledge.

Thus we see that the code of morality believed in by the bulk of the working class, is, to a very large extent, based not upon their own class interests, but upon the interests of their exploiters the capitalist class. It is a bourgeois, not a proletarian morality. It helps to preserve bourgeois society; it serves as a support to exploitation and oppression.

We saw that this function of morality is also a phenomenon of feudal society, but that it was very largely bound up with religious belief. Under capitalism, however, not only does this form of morality play a very much larger part than under feudalism, but it is to an ever-increasing extent dissociated from religion and connected more and more to secular theories of social relations communicated to the working class through the so-called educational agencies under the control of the ruling class.

The Decay of Competition.

Capitalist morality, since its first triumph, has not remained stationary, but has, on the contrary, been continually modified and adapted to the changing needs and interests of the bourgeoisie, which naturally flow from the evolution of the industrial system.

No previous form of society has witnessed such rapid economic changes during its existence as capitalism, and as a result, at no period in history have ideas been so completely and rapidly revolutionised as during the epoch of the bourgeoisie.

The most striking of these changes we will proceed to briefly outline.

In the first place commercial competition, so characteristic of capitalism in its prime, produces results which tend to bring about its own negation. Competing capitalists needs must, if they are to win success, be continually striving to sell cheaper than their competitors. This cheapening is obtained by the use of more and more efficient labour-saving machinery and ever more perfect means of sub-dividing the labour process, co-ordinating productive activity and eliminating waste of energy and material.

But as the machinery in use grows decade by decade more and more elaborate and intricate, it increases in costliness. Moreover, large-scale production embracing much invested capital is less wasteful than numerous concerns on a small scale. Consequently in the evolution of capitalism larger and larger aggregations of capital are requisite for "success in business." The "big" capitalists survive the competitive struggle while their many small competitors eke out an ever more precarious existence until they are "crushed out" and join the proletariat.

Then the few remaining "big men," seeing that further strife means less profits, draw together either openly or in secret; combines, trusts, and kartels become the order of the day.

This stage is best illustrated in the United States, where in many lines of industry competition is practically extinct; but in England and Germany this process is almost as advanced.

All this, of course, brings about a change in the outlook of the capitalist class. By their most advanced theorists "competition" is now discredited and looked upon as wasteful, inefficient, and obsolete. The wealthy magnates, now reduced to a comparatively small sect absolutely divorced from productive activity, look upon labour as a degrading thing. They ape the manners of the "old aristocracy" whom their forefathers hated, and covet nothing so much as a title (which, of course, they are prepared to pay for). Still they must make a pretence of being socially useful, and so they give it out, and perhaps actually believe, that they are the "brain of industry," upon which the welfare of civilisation rests. The working class are declared to be mere "brainless automata useless without the guiding genius of the 'captains of industry.'"

The small capitalists, too, have their outlook modified in the face of their approaching disaster. They become "super-democrats," and appeal to the workers for support, urging them to join in an agitation against the trusts "who are robbing the people." They strike out in the political field for "clean government"—the abolition of bribery and corruption—when they see the long purses of the plutocrats working wonders in the executive, the legislature, and the law courts. They still retain the old "individualism," invigorated by their hatred of the new monopolies which are strangling them, but, in some cases, in favour of State ownership as the only practical alternative to the oligarchy of the trusts.

Capital's "World Politics."

We are now to deal with the most important series of changes, social and intellectual, which have flowed with the evolution of capitalist production.

For several reasons, chiefly perhaps, freedom from the ravages of war, English industry in the 18th century had outstripped that of all other countries. Capitalist production first successfully flourished in England and it was here that machine industry was first adopted. The productivity of the English labourer leaped forward amazingly. The enormous mass of commodities turned out with the new machinery was far beyond the meagre consuming powers of the poverty-steeped proletariat of England and had to be sold abroad. A flood of cheap factory products was poured upon the world-markets. England became the "Workshop of the World." It was the "golden age" of English capitalists, who revelled in unequalled prosperity.

The foreign policy of the statesman during this period was a peaceful one. International complications which would hamper the steady running of the industrial forces and thus disturb the continuous stream of profits pouring into the coffers of the British bourgeoisie, were studiously avoided. Militarism and war were discredited; they were expensive. They brought, moreover, no compensations at all to be compared with the objectionable features they presented, for as nothing could withstand the competition of the British factory product, the military conquest of markets was, generally speaking, quite unnecessary; they were automatically monopolised.

But despite all the utopian dreams of British capitalism, this state of things could not last for ever. The effect of English trade was to stimulate and quicken capitalist development in the next most industrially advanced countries, whose bourgeoisie hastened to organise their resources and to introduce machinery. At first slowly, but none the less surely, America, Germany, and France, with others close to heel, began to threaten Britain's trade supremacy, first in their own "home market" under the shelter of protective tariffs, and even to compete with growing success with British goods in the open markets of the world. The world monopoly of England was gone. Even her "first place" among commercial nations was being seriously challenged. Now that their long era

of uncontested triumph was drawing to a close a change began to make itself manifest in the outlook of the English capitalists. An influential section of the British bourgeoisie, who, so long as they had no competitors were staunch believers in "free trade," began now to cry out for "protection" against "foreign goods." The "tariff reform" campaign was started.

Now began that furious struggle between the capitalist classes of the great bourgeois nations for commercial supremacy. Each rival group is striving to dispose of a huge surplus of commodities, a surplus which grows ever larger as more and more efficient machinery is used to cheapen production. It must be got rid of, for to fail would mean disaster—bankruptcy for the exporters, the bulk of the bourgeoisie, and industrial stagnation. Consequently while the old foreign markets are as far as possible more thoroughly exploited, new, unexplored ones are constantly sought.

But the inevitable result of the export of goods produced in industrially developed areas to countries where capitalism is non-existent or but feebly developed is to break down all communal and feudal conditions and to force these countries upon the path of capitalist evolution. As Marx and Engels said in the "Communist Manifesto," capitalism creates a world after its own image. The "Dark Continent," the "Celestial Empire," and "Holy Russia," are all transformed with astonishing rapidity at the magic touch of capitalist commerce. Everywhere new capitalist nations are sprouting into life and entering into the maelstrom of international competition. But this means that one-time markets are now becoming competitors in need of a market themselves to dispose of their own ever-growing surplus. While the markets are thus tending to diminish or will soon do so, the competitors for them are on the increase. Thus the tension grows: production within the bounds of capitalism is approaching the end of its tether; when will the breaking point be reached?

As the sphere of economic interests of the bourgeoisie of each nation expands with the pressing need for new markets, so also do their political interests. Their political ideal is no longer merely national; it is imperialistic. They each strive to secure and monopolise as many markets and potential markets as possible. They obtain trade "concessions" from the governments of "backward countries," often by pressure. Over seas where they export and establish means of production and transport—machinery, railways, etc. (practically synonymous with their foreign investments of capital)—they form or attempt to form "spheres of interest" and protectorates, or pursue a policy of annexation. Wherever possible they strive to monopolise for their own use areas rich in raw materials—mineral deposits, etc. Thus in recent years the bourgeoisie in Germany have elaborated their Mid Europe - Mesopotamia scheme; in Britain the policy of "economic unity of the Empire" and of expansion in Persia and Mesopotamia, and the capitalists of the U.S.A. stand as "protectors" of Central and Southern America; France, Italy, and Japan all have their schemes of imperial expansion.

Competition is no longer between individuals or even corporations, but between groups of capitalists having the whole force of the respective armed States behind their ambitions and demands. Imperialism, especially in competition with rival imperialisms, means militarism and war.

Of course the old "Liberal-pacifist-free-trade" theory still finds a number of supporters among the less intelligent capitalists and theorists, or among those whose interests are not, as yet, menaced by foreign competitors, but who, nevertheless, are compelled to stand part of the colossal expense incurred by a vigorous military system. The struggle between the old idea and policy and the new has at length reached its climax in the titanic war, and most of the erstwhile free-traders have abandoned the old position for the new. Liberalism has now become a thing of the past, for the economic conditions which engendered it have passed away for ever.

Imperialism, especially under the impulse of its exacting offspring, the war, has revolutionised the capitalist mind. The old "indi-

vidualism" is dead as a working philosophy. Whilst, in the "Liberal" period, the capitalist class largely achieved its prosperity through each capitalist seeking independently his own welfare without much regard for, or need of, the support of his class, now that competition between its national sections has become intense, class solidarity within the nation has become imperative. The great expense of militarism and the need for efficiency demand concessions and sacrifices from the individual members of the bourgeoisie. The capitalist who disregards the interests of his class is despised.

Organisation for war having become an economic necessity, military service is now considered an imperative obligation. The military spirit is glorified; military traditions are revived. The State is no longer regarded, as in the individualist period, a necessary nuisance, useful to keep the workers down (maintaining "order," it is called) but otherwise the less in evidence the better. Now, on the contrary, it has become the "saviour of society" (i.e., of the bourgeoisie). Only by its powerful aid can the needs of the capitalist class be satisfied. The State, in addition to securing military efficiency, now organises and presides over the industries of the nation, striving to co-ordinate national production, eliminate waste, and otherwise promote that efficiency required for the intense competition in the world market. To do this the State takes complete control over many of the most vital branches of production and communication—the railways, shipping, munitions of war factories, agriculture, etc.

Of course, the working class must be attracted to the imperialist philosophy to make its aspirations successful. The "sons of toil" harken to the imperialist-politicians and intellectuals who, with flowery phrases, describe and glorify the race for supremacy in the world market which takes to the unsophisticated "savage" of other lands the "triumphs" of modern capitalism, laces the deserts with railways and telegraph wires, and conjures up like mushroom growths everywhere, the crowded city and the whirling, smoke-belching factory. This process, the workers are told, is part of a mission—a mission to carry civilisation and culture to the barbarian. But the national sections of the bourgeoisie are each striving to be, if possible, the sole bearers of this culture, that is, in plain language, to obtain a monopoly of the new markets. Therefore they conduct their business, their overseas profit-seeking, to the cry of "national culture," be it British, German, French, or any other variety—a culture which in each case is supposed to possess a "superior essence," a superior quality surpassing every other brand of culture. Following from this is formulated the "superior race" or nation doctrine. Thus whilst Joseph Chamberlain, a spokesman of British Imperialism, declared that "the Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the predominant force in the history and civilisation of the world," and Lord Rosebery proclaimed the British Empire to be the "greatest secular agency for good the world has ever seen," Von Bernhardt and Trenchard rave over the "world mission of Germanic civilisation."

Patriotism assumes under the impulse of imperialism a new and virile significance. From the school, the pulpit, and the Press its dogmas and falsifications are preached with redoubled energy to a deluded proletariat. Efficiency in production and communication being not only a factor in military power, but, more important still, the prerequisite for success in the international market, the economic relations of the worker, once considered a private matter, are now magnified into affairs of "national interest," and the concept of patriotism is broadened to include them.

The worker who fails to concentrate all his energy in his work, on securing the maximum of output, who, for instance, "goes on strike," is dubbed unpatriotic. The hard-won regulations of the labour unions, hitherto receiving a tardy recognition from the bourgeoisie as necessary evils, are now discredited and partly repudiated, being attacked as hindrances to output liable to lead to "national eclipse and disaster"—as unpatriotic.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

A CAUTION.

According to the "Manchester Evening News" for Jan. 1st last, Mr. John Hodge, the new "Minister of Labour, in the course of a speech at Gorton, blabbed out that "employers have begun to realise that welfare becomes a valuable asset in the productivity of the worker, and that it pays as well to treat men, women, and children kindly as it pays to treat cattle kindly."

Mr. John Hodge will really have to be more careful. Weak and long-suffering though the working have-nots are they decidedly don't like being likened to cattle, however apt and true that comparison may be. We know, of course, that Varro of old Rome divided agricultural implements into three groups—the talking variety, or slaves; the semi-talking variety, like oxen; non-talking, such as waggons; but the day has long gone when the real status of the working class could be openly stated as John has stated it, especially after the pints of slop which have been poured out during the war, on our glorious heritage of freedom and equality, and the tosh that we are "all one in the hour of our nation's trial."

Hodge's function is to bluff and fool our class—we know that. But gee! he had better learn his job or he'll lose it. If we are to have our welfare seen to by getting better managers, and the like, it is folly from the Hodge point of view to tell us that it is to add to our "productivity," or in the vulgar vernacular, to make us grind harder for our grub. "Our" Minister is going the right way to get invested with the ignoble order of the boot, which may be awkward if overweening confidence in the devil's reputation for looking after his own has led him to part with all his 30 inch waistcoats.

Pier.

THE TALE THAT IS TOLD.

While the means of living are the property of a class the propertyless will be compelled to sell their labour-power.

While men have to sell their labour-power they will have to produce a surplus of wealth beyond that represented by their wages, and therefore which they cannot consume.

While this surplus wealth which the propertyless produce but cannot consume continues to be produced a market must be found for it.

While it is necessary to find a market for the surplus wealth produced by those who have to sell their labour-power, that market must necessarily be largely found abroad.

While it is necessary to find markets abroad it will be equally necessary to fight for those markets. That means war!

Therefore so long as we have a social system in which the means of living belong to a class, war is inevitable.

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THE NOCTURNAL ANTICS OF CAPITAL.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling made a striking and picturesque speech at Folkestone yesterday.

"Money is a curious article," he said. "Have you ever thought that invested money is the only thing in the world, outside the Army, the Navy and the mercantile marine, that will work for you while you sleep?"

"Everything else knocks off or goes to bed, or takes a holiday at intervals, but our money sits up all through the year, working to fetch in the 5 per cent. interest."

"I am not a financier but I do know that much; and I do know that a man who has an income, however small, from money he has saved, is free of worry and anxiety for himself, his wife, and his children, up to the extent of that income."

A man who has wasted or muddled all his pay at the end of the week is the servant of the whole world for his next week's pay.

"Any fool can waste, but it takes something of a man to save."—"Daily Express," 16.2.18.

This is the poet's conception of capitalism. His poetic imagination strips the system of all its sordid ugliness—the poverty and exploitation of the great bulk of Society, the working class—and sees nothing but money making money. Very few capitalists are afflicted with such an imagination; many of them marvel at the social arrangements that guarantee them a regular income without the necessity of work or worry on their part, but they know that in some way or other it is the result of working-class effort. The majority, however, are under no delusion. They know that their incomes are part of the surplus wealth produced by the workers, that surplus wealth being the difference between the total product of the workers and the sum total of their wages.

Most capitalists would consider Mr. Kipling's "striking and picturesque speech" as very dry humour. In it the worker is completely ignored, his labour counts for nothing. It is money that does the trick; "it sits up"—another marvel added to the long list of its Cinquivalian achievements—"all through the year"—and its shadow never grows less—"working" (no doubt on edge, or it could not be sitting up) "to fetch in 5 per cent. interest" that enables the capitalist to sleep and slack his time away.

Not having to study economy himself Mr. Kipling is strikingly and picturesquely severe with the unthrifty. Being in receipt of a princely income, largely the result of his success in persuading the workers to pose as "absent-minded beggars," neglecting their own interest and their class interest meanwhile, he regards them with the utmost contempt, being "absent-minded beggars," they are unable to buy war bonds and live on the interest.

"A man who has wasted or muddled all his pay at the end of the week is the servant of the whole world for his next week's pay." In this he seems to be quite unacquainted with the fact that there are some people in these islands whose pay at the end of the week is barely sufficient to provide bread and marge for the following week. He imagines that everyone has a margin provided he does not waste or muddle. The Government department that instituted the coupon system of selling war bonds was wiser. By means of that system the poorest worker can, by an extra spurt of self-denial, become the proud possessor of a bond certifying him a creditor to his country, and implicating him in that country's quarrels to that extent.

But all this is beside the point. The worker's pay, or wages, is barely sufficient to keep himself and those dependent on him. The strongest confirmation of this is supplied by Mr. Kipling himself, in saying that if he wastes or muddles it he and his family are in a precarious position for the following week. It is a well known fact that only those workers whose wages are well above the average—a relatively small minority by the way—and who make a careful study of the relative costs of food, clothing, shelter, etc., and who expend their wages with care and economy, can preserve a decent exterior and make any provision for a rainy day. But even these, the so-called aristocracy of labour, are compelled to work, not for the whole world, but for some capitalist who is part owner in the means

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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EAST LONDON.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Suns. 4.30

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valetic Street, Hackney, N.E.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Sec. S.P.G.B. 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

MANCHESTER.—All communications to Secy., W. Torr, 111 West Park St., Salford. Branch meets Sundays at 3, at the United Garment Workers' Office, 59 New Bridge St., Victoria Station, Cheetham.

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WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Midstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

and instruments of wealth production. The bulk of the workers are compelled to practice a rigid economy because their wages are barely sufficient to maintain them in a fit condition to continue working. So Mr. Kipling's statement is absurd, for whether a worker wastes or muddles his pay, or is rigidly economical, he is never free of the capitalist-imposed necessity to sell his labour-power in order to live. The idea of the working class exploiting itself by means of a fund saved from wages is extremely funny, yet that is the logical deduction from Mr. Kipling's reasoning.

Next we are told "any fool can waste, but it takes something of a man to save." And by that token we know that Mr. Kipling is a man, notwithstanding he is reputed to be a poet. By the same standard the vast majority of the workers, in Mr. Kipling's judgment, must be muddlers and wasters, and therefore fools, because they have no income, however small, from investment.

But if he is right, and the bulk of the workers are fools, it is not for the reason he advances, but because they allow the capitalists to exploit and the Kiplings to confuse them. If only they would examine carefully and critically his statement that money works while the owner of it sleeps, they would find in it the germ of a wider philosophy; they would see in it an admission that the capitalist performs no useful function in Society; that he is a parasite on the working class, living in idleness and luxury while the latter, by their labour, continually add to his wealth.

Money does not make money. Nor does capital make dividends, though the investment of capital is the capitalist method of robbing the working class of all the wealth they produce, returning to them only sufficient to keep them fit for a continuance of the process. The process itself may accurately be described either as the robbery or the enslavement of the working class. It matters little by which name we call

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

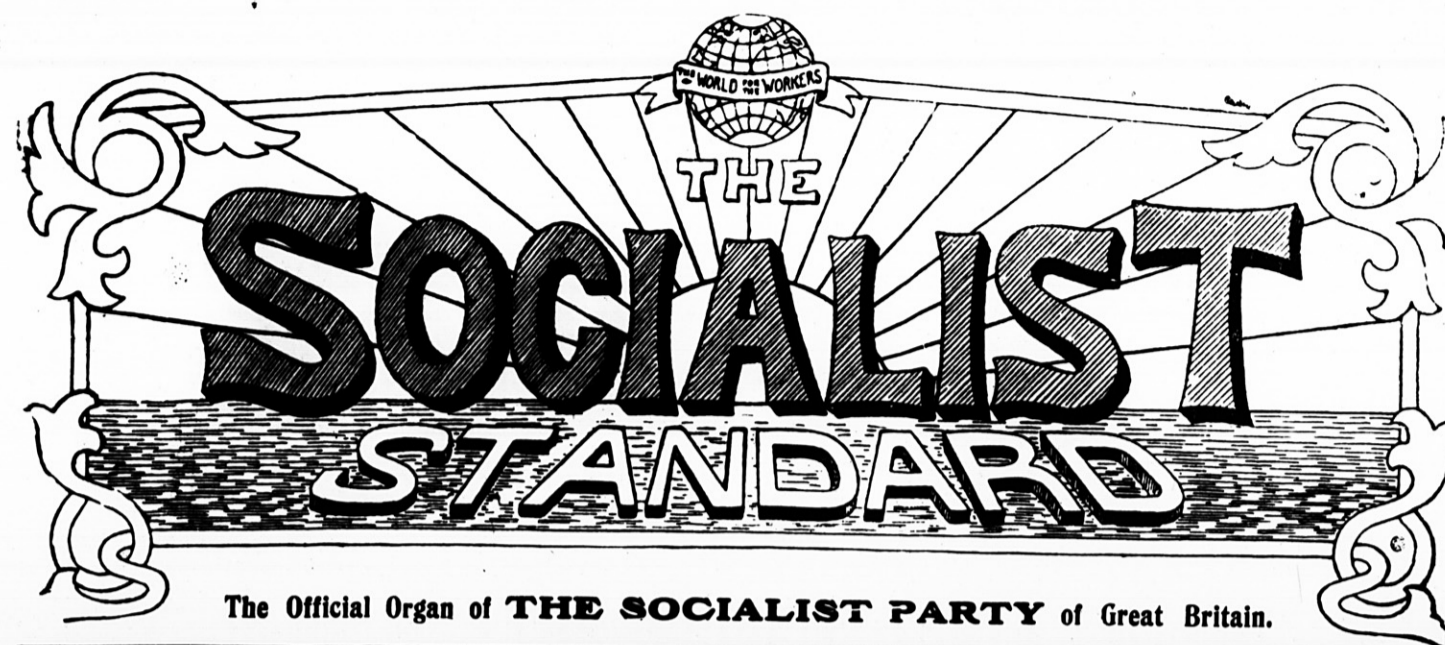
APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

It. The fact remains that the working class produce all wealth but always remain poor, while the master class, though revelling in luxury, grow daily more wealthy—while they sleep.

Social arrangements such as these, once they are recognised by the workers, cannot be tolerated. When the facts are brought home to them they will organise with us to capture the machinery of government in order that they may establish a system of Society based on the common ownership and democratic control of all the means and instruments of wealth production and distribution—which is Socialism.

F. F.



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LONDON, MAY, 1918.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LABOUR PARTY "RECONSTRUCTION."

THE OLD COAT TURNED.

The new constitution of the Labour Party does not make that party any more of a working-class party in the real sense than it has been heretofore. As has frequently been pointed out in these columns, its policy is, for the following reasons, opposed to the best interests of the working class, and calculated to hinder their emancipation.

(1) The Labour Party is not a Socialist party, and consequently is not concerned with the abolition of capitalism and wage-slavery.

(2) The time and energy of the Labour Party are spent in advocating and pleading for reforms, which cannot materially improve conditions for the working class, but which confuse the minds of the workers, leading them to expect benefits they never obtain, thus causing disappointment, disgust, and apathy.

(3) The avowed aim of the Labour Party is to get members into Parliament, in the belief that those members can legislate in the interest of the working class, whereas they are powerless to do so because they are dependent upon a capitalist party for constituencies in which to run their candidates, and the electorate of such constituencies merely vote them in because they stand for a Liberal programme and policy.

(4) By claiming to have a Socialist objective the Labour Party perpetuate the false notion that Socialism will be established, not as the result of an organised and conscious effort of the working class, but by a series of political reforms concurred in by the capitalist class.

(5) The Labour Party deny the class struggle: the antagonism of interests between the working class and the capitalist class. Recognition of this antagonism is, quite obviously, the fundamental principle which forms the basis of a genuine working-class, or Socialist party.

The class struggle is established as an indisputable fact directly the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class is demonstrated. And the conscious organisation of the working class to free itself from exploitation is the logical outcome of its recognition that it is an exploited class. As the capitalist class will endeavour to maintain their power to exploit it is clear that the working class will be antagonistic to them in accordance with the degree of recognition of their subject position that prevails among them.

The claim of the Labour Party to be a working-class party, or a Socialist party, is, therefore, a false claim, because they neither demonstrate the claim nor assert the exploitation of the working class. These two facts are of vital importance to a working-class organisation. They should never be lost sight of when working-class conditions are under discussion. For without a recognition of them the workers can never arrive at a correct understanding of their position, or of the principles upon which a

working-class political party should be organised.

Exploitation is the condition imposed upon the working class by the capitalist class. The antagonism of classes arises from it. But in itself antagonism, or class war, is not a condition to be looked upon as permanent; for the workers to shirk it is to submit to exploitation; to kick against the pricks in blind revolt is folly. They must fight the class war with their emancipation in full view as the result of their victory over the capitalist class. For that reason working-class education is not complete until the basis of an alternative system of society is made clear, and the means for its attainment understood. Thus Socialist philosophy becomes clear as daylight when the prominent and essential factors of working-class conditions are singled out and kept in view.

The working class being an exploited class, must, where conscious of it, be antagonistic to the class that exploits, and when it is seen that a system of society is possible based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of life, the workers must struggle for its attainment against those who wish to retain the present system; and they will be guided by history, experience, and common sense as to the easiest and most direct method of overcoming the resistance of the exploiting class and establishing the new order.

These principles should form the basis of a genuine working-class political party. Do the Labour Party, either in its old or new constitution, proclaim them as the basis of their organisation? The answer is no, the Labour Party have never adopted these principles, but from time to time, when it has suited their purpose, their prominent members have dallied with them, giving them a fleeting recognition in slipshod and unscientific fashion. But more generally they are to be found ridiculing the idea of class war and advocating State ownership, or nationalisation of industries. Thus in their new constitution they say:

The object of the party is to secure for producers by hand or brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

This the manifesto—if one may dignify it by that name—claims to be "distinctly, though not explicitly, Socialistic." In other words it is so framed that prominent members may put what construction they please upon it, and those workers who have but a scanty knowledge of Socialism, but who are in sympathy with it, can be easily persuaded to support the party.

Immediately following this "distinctly, though not explicitly, Socialistic" pronouncement the following paragraph appears:

An important innovation is that it is proposed

that it shall be the duty of the national executive prior to every general election, to define the principle issues for that election which, in the judgment of the national executive, should be made the special party programme for that particular election campaign.

In addition to this the party Conference decides from time to time what specific proposals of legislative, financial, or administrative reform shall receive the general support of the party.

So that, whatever may be meant by their object as stated above, the party will adopt other issues at the only time when the workers would have an opportunity of giving it their unqualified approval and support. If their object were "distinctly" Socialistic it would not be known at any election, what proportion of their total vote was recorded in its favour. The object itself might be entirely lost sight of by their supporters, and their attention concentrated on the issues that made up the "special party programme for that particular election campaign." Such a method gives rise to a double confusion: the workers are confused because they do not know for what the votes are given. That in itself would not trouble them, their object being really a personal one—to get returned. Hence the introduction of issues that would appeal to the non-Socialist element—the element on which they depend for the success of their candidature.

Neither in their general propaganda nor in their election programmes do the Labour leaders stand for Socialism. They take sides on every issue raised between Liberals and Tories, though such issues can have no interest for the workers beyond proving to them that those parties only discuss questions affecting their class, and settle them in accordance with the interests of their class.

Capitalist politics may, therefore, be left to capitalist politicians, to whom the Labour Party belong. The workers should adopt the Socialist Object and support only that at all times. Other objects and issues are only raised to confuse them, to satisfy personal ambitions, or to strengthen the position of the ruling class.

Let the rank and file of the Labour Party realise that only Socialism is worth voting and working for, and their leaders will, perforce, stand for Socialism, or be stripped of their sheep's clothing and be revealed as capitalist wolves.

F. F.

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SOCIETY AND MORALS.

PART VII. THE MORALS OF CAPITALISM. — (Continued.)

The Age of Cant.

Summing up the "morality of capitalism," what is the distinctive feature by which it is distinguished from that of other class-divided societies? It is undeniably that hypocritical taint which pervades it through and through, and which is seen in the glaring contrast which is presented between the moral theory professed and the actual moral reality practised. This moral hypocrisy is the inevitable outcome of the social relations immanent in capitalism. It results from the antagonisms which exist in the system; partly from that engendered in the competitive struggle between individuals and groups of individuals, but primarily from that antagonism which exists between the interests of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and of the proletariat on the other.

Every activity of the bourgeoisie in its own interest must be undertaken *professedly* in the interests of the workers, or, more correctly, of "society as a whole." For the "unity of society" and of its interests is a cardinal dogma, in which the very existence of classes is often denied. "Democracy, Liberty, and Humanity" have been the watchwords of bourgeois society, but words only, for in their name more horrible and sickening atrocities have been perpetrated than in any previous period in history. Thus, human life is held in this "most humanitarian age" to be sacred, yet witness the widespread equanimity with which the slow starvation of thousands and the mental and physical deformation of millions are endured, and even the fervid glee with which the international capitalist class and their dupes beheld the bloody murder of 20,000 workers after the Commune of Paris, and which to-day greets the slaughter of millions on the battle-fields of Europe.

The worship of "democratic" and "humanitarian" phrases has led to the ludicrous situation that everyone professes to admire the rule "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," and for the most part to be guided by it, and yet the social system which these same people uphold makes the practice of this rule absolutely impossible. Did, indeed, anyone actually attempt to abide by this principle he would certainly come into such violent conflict with existing conceptions and institutions as to be branded an utopian and a madman, and most likely he would be punished with imprisonment.

There is hypocrisy and deceit everywhere, from the lying and trickery of trades and the cant about the "honour of our public men" to the veneer of religious orthodoxy and the "love" that in conventional belief cements the economic contract we call "marriage." Verily, our time has rightly been called "The Age of Cant."

PART VIII. THE OUTLOOK OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Owing to the fact that capitalist society rests upon the exploitation of the wage-earners by the owners of capital, it is rendered possible to generate a system of morality radically different from the bourgeois ethics we have been considering, namely, a system which conforms to the interest of the exploited class—the proletariat.

At the same time we have seen also, that an essential part of the superstructure of capitalism consists of institutions which effectively prevent the majority of the workers from recognising their real social status, make them contented with the system they are born into, and secure their acceptance of the bourgeois moral code. The formulation of a proletarian moral code and its acceptance by the working class is, therefore, a slow and difficult process, obstructed at every point by practically all the institutions of the social environment.

Only by gradual and uneven stages can the proletariat in the mass really assimilate a class ethic of their own. Thus to-day, for example,

but a small minority have already reached this position, although many are fairly class-conscious and considerably ahead of the main body of the workers, who as yet only possess a faint glimmering of their class interests, whilst on the other side a backward section, growing, however, continually smaller, have not even achieved this state, but embrace in its entirety the capitalistic outlook.

The mental evolution of the proletariat is a subject so vast that here our survey must be practically confined to working-class development in England.

The Early Working-Class Movement.

The earliest independent organisations formed by the modern working class aimed at regulating the conditions of working, such as raising or maintaining the standard of wages or shortening the working day. In several of the more advanced industries such "trade clubs" had already been formed quite early in the eighteenth century. They were, at first, small and local. Working men of a common craft, living in a common locality, gathered together for the protection of their common interests. Though they were concerned with minor and immediate grievances, seeking only to palliate the, to them, evil effects of evolving capitalism, yet their very existence is evidence of the fact that, even in the pre-machine period of capitalism many workers were beginning to realise that their interests and those of their employers were by no means identical. While they acquiesced in the general nature of the system of production prevailing and considered it, on the whole, to be right and just, yet many things which their capitalist employers regarded as perfectly justifiable and reasonable they held to be wrong and unfair.

Their classification of "good" and "bad" employers still lingers in the minds of their latter-day trade-union descendants. In many respects their economic principles and morality were conservative and even reactionary, for they strove energetically to retain their old-established skill or craftsmanship against the tendency which the employers favoured of subdividing the labour process—a means of increasing profits and the domination of the capitalist over the labourer, but also a means of increasing the fertility of human energy, and therefore directly in the line of human progress.

Then came the "industrial revolution" with its ensuing horrors—the dawn of the "machine age" was at hand. In the many revolts against the terrible oppression of the factory system reactionary ideas were still, at first, the prevailing feature. Blindly, the outraged workers struck at the lifeless mechanisms which were the immediate cause of their degradation.

Violent machine-breaking riots occurred, the workers regarding the machines themselves, and not so much their capitalist owners, as the enemy to be combated. Strikes now became frequent, and trade combinations among the workers multiplied to such an extent as to seriously alarm the ruling classes and awaken them to retaliation through the State machine.

Combinations of workmen had never been legal bodies, but they had been more or less tolerated prior to the coming of the machine. But now their rapid progress in numbers and militancy brought forth the severe Anti-Combination Acts of 1799-1800. Savage persecution of workmen followed and unions were relentlessly suppressed. But, nevertheless, these organisations, made inevitable by capitalist exploitation, continued to exist in secret, and, in the underground warfare against the employing class, some recognition of the class antagonism inherent in capitalist society must have been forced upon many of the workers.

At length, however, after over twenty years of terrible persecution, the dominant classes seemed to have realised the futility and even worse of forcible suppression, and the unions were granted some measure of legal sanction. Immediately trade unions sprang up everywhere in greater abundance than ever before, for, in the intervening period, capitalist production had advanced exceedingly and machinery had now invaded almost every branch of industry. Consequently more oppression occurred, but to no real purpose.

Now, however, the far-sighted among the

bourgeoisie were coming to see that these organisations were unavoidable, and although an evil were a necessary one. If they could not be killed they could, perhaps, be conciliated. How this view was justified we shall see later.

Many various experiments in industrial organisation were made by the workers in the succeeding decade or two, principally through the efforts of enthusiastic Utopians like Robert Owen. The social ideals of such men were high indeed, but the vast majority of the workers remained uninfluenced by them. They were in the unions because they thereby hoped, just as their predecessors had done, to ameliorate their immediate grievances, to obtain higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of employment.

Eventually, after many experimental failures, trade unionism settled down into that general form which prevailed throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. One advance was made, however. The unions for the most part ceased to be mere local associations and tended more and more to become national in their scope—a development made possible and necessary by the great progress in communication achieved through the introduction of railways. It is, perhaps, needless to add that as capitalist production gradually took root all over the world there spread along with it its necessary accompaniment, trade unionism.

Meanwhile the final struggle of the industrial capitalists for political power had had the effect of turning the workers' attention also to the field of politics as a means whereby they might obtain relief from their intense impoverishment and distress.

Though the "industrial revolution" had considerably enhanced the wealth, numbers, and influence of the manufacturing bourgeoisie, this class remained, for a long period afterwards, excluded from direct political representation. Whilst insignificant country districts often had separate representatives, large and now vastly important and thickly populated industrial towns like Birmingham and Manchester were without independent representation under the existing constitution. Parliament, accordingly, continued to be dominated by the aristocratic landlords, vestigial remains of the now dead feudal system.

The manufacturers and their "intellectual" allies demanded *political reform* and strove, by incessant agitation, to draw the working class to the support of the reform movement. Among the discontented workers such propaganda fell upon fertile soil. Huge demonstrations were held all over the country and eventually, after many years of obstinate resistance and brutal repression, the government, fearful of civil war, reluctantly conceded the *Reform Bill* of 1832.

This Act, while it partly remedied the anomalies in the representation of the industrial centres and extended the vote to the wealthier strata of the capitalists, left the proletariat still without the franchise. Great disappointment and resentment was aroused in the workers by this betrayal, and within three years an association of working men drew up their own political programme—the "People's Charter." This was soon adopted by the majority of the politically active workers who became known as *Chartists*.

The enactment of the Charter was to establish political democracy by a thorough revision of the electoral system, and the Charter was thus the logical outcome of the political ideals of the bourgeoisie. But there can be no doubt that, to the masses of working men who gave their support to Chartism, political reform was but a means to an end—the alleviation of their miserable poverty, slavery, and degradation. This is shown by the vigorous activity of the Chartists on behalf of the Ten Hours Bill and other factory legislation, and by their loyal support of the industrial movement of the workers which was apparent in every strike. In such activities they were met by the bitter opposition of those self-styled "friends of the people," the free-trade factory capitalists.

During their existence of about twelve years the Chartists accomplished a great amount of agitation and educational work, several widely-read newspapers being published in support of the movement. Adherents to the party multi-

plied rapidly, especially in the great northern centres of industry. The growth of the agitation made it hated and feared by the ruling classes both aristocratic and bourgeois, and many of its members were victimised by the employers and imprisoned by the authorities.

The Chartists, however, proved too weak to carry their point. Dissensions had grown in their ranks, and among the mass of their supporters, who were but loosely organised, many were side-tracked by the bourgeois agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Parliament scornfully rejected the petition for the Charter, and in the suppression of the minor insurrections and disturbances which followed, the Chartists found themselves "confronted with a highly developed military administration, with barracks ranged through the industrial districts, and with a newly organised and well drilled police force." (Green's "Short History," p. 859). Open revolt seemed futile.

Furthermore, the factory acts had removed many of the more pressing grievances of the workers, and a revival of trade relieved the unemployment situation. The bulk of the workers became politically apathetic; the vigour of Chartism declined and, after a time, the movement collapsed and disappeared.

On the continent of Europe events, similar to those in England were taking place. There the bourgeoisie, striving to win political supremacy, also allied themselves with the proletariat, and in 1848 broke out in revolt. When, however, the workers at the first success put forward demands on their own account, the bourgeoisie immediately became anxious about "law and order." In Germany they joined hands with their political enemies, the nobility, in suppressing the rising of the workers, and in France, after constituting themselves the ruling power, the industrial bourgeoisie crushed the proletarian rebels with great violence and bloodshed.

The Reconciliation: Its Causes and Consequences.

These early manifestations of a widespread spirit of revolt on the part of the proletariat took place, it must be remembered, before the days of "State education." The marvellously complex organisations by which the workers were in later times to be impregnated with a bourgeois ideology had not yet been fully evolved. Masses of the workers were still unable to read or write, especially in the earlier period. What little reading and learning was possessed among them, here and there, was gleaned mainly through the agency of trade clubs or similar organisations, in connection with which small libraries were sometimes maintained and study classes held.

That capitalist tradition, including the dogmas regarding abstinence and directive ability, so respected by and ingrained in the bulk of the workers in after years, and which so largely holds them in its grip to-day, was, at that time, only in its formative period. The vast array of intellectual retainers of every type to-day in the pay of the bourgeoisie, was then much less numerous and not nearly so well organised, for the wealth and influence of the industrial capitalists was, at that time, comparatively small. Neither had they that undisputed control of the political machine which they were later to hold. Moreover, they themselves, in their revolutionary struggle with the nobility, had, in their criticisms of hereditary privilege, done much to discredit and undermine respect for established institutions and authority. When they had risen to complete supremacy the bourgeoisie were sorely in need of a working-class narcotic to occupy the place left by that which they had helped to undermine.

At length it was realised by the bolder and wiser elements of the bourgeoisie that an officially controlled educational system would not only give to the workers that technical instruction made more and more necessary by scientific commerce and production, but would also make possible the systematic and more efficient inculcation into the absorbent minds of the proletarian children the *servile code* of ethics which it had once been the exclusive business of the Church to foster. We have seen in our previous section the outcome of this idea. Still

it seems hardly likely that the bourgeoisie could have seen what a valuable instrument in the service of class rule they were forging when the first timid "educational" schemes were put forward.

At all events, the fact cannot be gainsaid that with the gradual elaboration and extension of compulsory capitalistic education and, side by side with this the marvellous growth in cheapness, size, and circulation of the bourgeois Press (the greatest agent of mental perversion of revolt among the workers died down considerably. Engels has admirably shown that a religious revival fostered by the bourgeoisie also played its part in this process. Capitalism now seemed to have reached a comparatively stable and smooth-running condition as far as the workers were concerned, fulfilling all the desires of its profit-worshipping devotees.

Particularly was this conservatism of the workers manifested in England, where there operated more directly economic causes to this end. After the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846 the capitalists of England entered upon their period of economic world supremacy. Out of the enormous and steadily increasing stream of profits the employers could well afford to conciliate the workers with sops in the shape of somewhat higher wages and with social reforms which eliminated many of the minor grievances of the workers. It paid to do this rather than risk a disturbance and a break in the continuity of their wonderful prosperity by unnecessary industrial strife twixt employer and employed.

After the workers had become docile the bourgeoisie could with safety satisfy that popular desire for the franchise which revived again and again, and this they did in succeeding stages. As Engels says, "parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for tradition," and besides, the vote completed the argument of the bourgeoisie that the workers were "free." Did they not elect their chosen representatives to rule them? Was not "democracy" now a reality? Thus, apparently, were the capitalists made more secure than ever.

In this long period of working-class quiescence, which started about 1850 and began to end towards the close of the century, trade unionism persisted but took on a form so distinctly bourgeois as to become in itself and its results a powerful "bulwark of capitalism." Politically the workers for the most part supported the bourgeois Liberal and Tory parties.

Whatever revolutionary sentiment had existed in the earlier movement now almost entirely disappeared. The view that the respective interests of the capitalists and the workers were necessarily antagonistic, which had been taught by many of the advanced Chartists, was now discredited. The workers generally held that the capitalists as a class were useful, necessary, even benevolent, earning the well-deserved profits of abstinence and ability, whatever grievances the workers had were thought to be due either to the greed of exceptionally bad and unjust employers or to unfortunate misunderstandings on the part of the capitalists or their workpeople; this was the justification for trade unions.

The unions had for their motto "Defence, not Defiance," and "A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work." Strikes were discouraged; the new policy in dealing with disputes was one of arbitration based on compromise and mutual good-will. These tactics, of course, transferred the field of action from the *mass* of the organised workers to their officials and representatives, who met the employers or their agents in conference.

The growth in size of the unions, together with their anti-strike policy, enabled the accumulation of very considerable reserve funds, which were spent mainly in friendly benefits. These factors also tended to enhance the prestige and power of the prominent officials, who now became a full-time salaried staff, virtually, though not avowedly, dominating the policy and activities of their organisations.

R. W. HOUSLEY.
(To be Continued.)

ARE POLITICS WORTH WHILE?

Are politics worth while? One would think that such were a crazy question to ask at this time of day. Yet probably the vast majority of the working class even to-day hold politics in the most profound contempt.

The folly of this attitude is revealed as soon as we consider what the functions and purpose of politics are.

Politics, we are told, are "the science of government; political affairs, or the contests of parties for power." The workers' interest in politics as the science of government is the governed. For they are the governed. They have no lot or portion in government, notwithstanding appearances. What, then, is the purpose of government?

There are two classes in modern society, one of which—the working class—produces all the wealth, the other of which—the master class—appropriates all the wealth. A social arrangement in which one section of society is robbed by another section of society must necessarily always be productive of social friction. The class which are robbed, however ignorant they may be of the fact of the robbery, must have a tendency to resist that spoliation. Even if in their view there was nothing but the sale and purchase of labour-power, still must they resist the spoliation in the form of a limitless and ceaseless struggle for a higher price for their labour-power.

Obviously, the extent to which this struggle for higher wages succeeds must be determined by the force which is opposed to it. In the total absence of opposition it must proceed until there is nothing left of the workers' product after their wage-claim has been met, and the next step must be, consequent upon the breakdown of the sale and purchase of labour-power, the utter expropriation of the possessing class.

In order to prevent things taking this course, in order to maintain their position as an exploiting class on the one hand, and render their exploitation as complete as possible on the other, a controlling force is necessary. This controlling force is a complex thing, being nothing less than the whole instrument of the State. The forces of coercion, civil and military; the judiciary and its minions; the local authorities; these and many others are the components of the instrument of suppression which we call the State.

This machinery of the State, by means of which the social system is maintained upon a basis which presupposes a class living by the sale of their labour-power—a class of wage-workers—is controlled politically. Its control is the object of politics in the sense of "contests between parties for power"—the political struggle. Are politics, then, worth while?

Politics, it is seen, lie at the root of all social power. Through politics the workers are kept subject and robbed. Through politics the masters assure that all the benefits which accrue from human progress—every advance in science, every improvement in the means and methods of wealth production—go to them. Through politics they are able to throw the workers into the streets to starve when their labour has filled the warehouses with goods which they are not permitted to consume, and glutted the markets with wealth which chokes its producers. Through politics the tyrants of the universe are able to drag the workers from their homes to die in countless thousands in the trenches of the battlefield. Through politics they are able to fill the land—all lands—with widows and orphans, and with mothers mourning sons who will never return.

All these things politics mean and more. More on the side of the masters, and more, infinitely more on the side of the workers. For politics are the means which will give them control over the armed forces, over the police and the judiciary, over every stone and timber of the structure of the State, and through these over the instruments of labour, the means of production. Through politics it shall yet be secured that the mills grind for human feeding and the shuttles fly for human comfort. Politics ARE worth while.

A. E. J.

Books, works of art or any other useful

It was while in Brussels that Marx delivered his lecture on "Free Trade," and those on "Wage-Labour and Capital," afterwards published as pamphlets. Here, too, he wrote his famous "Poverty of Philosophy," in answer to Proudhon's "Philosophy of Misery"—a volume that is a fine example of keen analysis and powerful argument dressed in the scathing sarcasm of which Marx was a master, as well as an instance of the acknowledgment and credit he always gave his predecessors. Many of the authors mentioned would have been forgotten long ago had Marx not rescued them from oblivion. Every one of the critics who so loudly claim to have discovered forerunners of Marx—Anton Menger, Beatrice Potter, James Connolly, etc.—have had these "discoveries" placed in their hands by Marx.

He drew up the addresses of this body on the Franco-German War, the third of which, entitled "Civil War in France," is a magnificent sketch of the rise and fall of the Commune of Paris of 1871 and a scathing indictment of the

"The social world," says Vico, 'is undoubtedly the work of man, whence it results that

Thus Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote last November some articles for the "Daily Express" on "How to settle the Irish Question." In the early '80's Mr. Shaw accepted and defended the theories of Marx till a debate took place with Professor Wicksteed in the old Socialist magazine "To-day" on the theories of Marx & those of Jevons. Mr. Shaw defended the former. Shortly after the debate Mr. Shaw announced his conversion to the Jevonian theory. Since then he has even been ready to sneer at Marx and Marxians.

When this military carnage has ceased the capitalist class will combine to a greater extent than before. In many cases the "national" boundaries will be ignored and the capitalists of groups of nations will combine to control whole series of industries in the world-competition. The elimination of competition between those forming these combinations will mean a more economical and efficient management of those industries, which in simple language means that fewer workers will be required to manage the same amount of wealth.

production and distribution as before, resulting in an increase in the number of unemployed.

To ensure a smooth working of these huge complex organisations it will be necessary to persuade the workers to increase their "efficiency" by further enslaving themselves, under the cloak of "taking part in the management." With this object, the Whitley Committee was appointed, and its recommendation of "Joint Councils of Employers and Employed" is one more added to the long list of devices introduced to swindle the workers into assisting to make worse their conditions of existence.

Of much greater importance is the obtaining of power to safeguard and expand these enlarged economic interests. Whitley Committees will be useless here, and the only road to this power is the possession of the political machinery that controls the armed forces, powers of taxation, and of the enactment of laws.

In many cases the capitalist may not trouble to seek election himself. He can send his agents, as his paid servants, to carry out his instructions. This has the additional advantage that if opposition is aroused by any of their actions, he can leave his agent to be the public scapegoat (and sometimes remove him—to a better paid office) and so divert attention from the real enemy.

The number of "salaried" wage-slaves is steadily increasing and these people are finding a growing difficulty in obtaining employment. Hence the competition among them for the political jobs of the master class. Lawyers and journalists swarm into the political organisations of the masters—the Tory and Liberal Associations, with their subsidiary bodies the Tariff Reform and Free Trade Leagues, etc.—in their hunt after jobs. Still there is not room for all here, and a large number are left to seek a footing elsewhere. To these the Labour Party have now officially opened their doors, so the future will see an increased competition of office and job hunters in the political field. This will result in further confusing the minds of the uneducated workers, particularly as these candidates will call themselves "democratic," "labour," or even "Socialist."

When returned to Parliament under these conditions they will obey the orders of the master class, just as the Labour Party have done before and during the war.

But the more efficient and economical production of wealth will mean an increasing insecurity of life with the consequent greater misery of the mass of the workers. The latter will be forced by these very facts to study more and more the economic and historical questions before them. As they do this they will realise in ever-growing numbers the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Morgan, and Engels, and will organise to take control of political power for the purpose of abolishing capitalism.

Only by this method can they obtain control and ownership of the means of production and organise them with the object of satisfying the needs and wishes of society under the best conditions available within their knowledge and with the result of making happiness and leisure the portion of every member of society. To this end Marx devoted the best years of his life, and the fruits of his labours are a legacy of inestimable value to the working class.

J. FITZGERALD.

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ATROCIOUS CAPITALISTS

Although the working class have no voice in the decision between peace or war, the constitution of present-day society makes their support, or at least their toleration, necessary in order that the slaughter may be carried on.

The competition of the capitalist class for the lion's share of the raw material for the production of commodities, the struggle for markets, and the endeavour to control the transport facilities needed to supply them, are the causes of war to-day. For that reason the true facts of the case are kept from the workers, whose interest is not affected by such questions, and some high-sounding phrase is adopted, such as "The rights of small nations" (which has done such service in the present war) to lead a large number of people into the belief that the war is being run for purposes other than to serve the interest of the capitalist class.

Having found a plausible excuse for entering the war, the war itself then becomes the means of supplying the capitalist with the material he needs to carry on his propaganda.

With the commencement of hostilities begin also atrocities, and by withholding one set of facts and magnifying others they are able to present an entirely false picture to the working class, the sight of which upsets their mental balance and makes them more useful tools with which their exploiters can accomplish their object.

Columns of the servile Press are occupied in reciting the terrible deeds committed by the "enemy." The magic wand of Fleet Street is waved and nations become transformed. The French are no longer "Froggies," but "gallant allies"; the Germans are converted from civilised men to "Barbarians"; the "autocrats" of Russia are revealed as the real friends of democracy—albeit they change their tone without a qualm to meet later altered circumstances.

And so we see a most remarkable changing of national characteristics to fit in with the need of British capitalist interests.

These conveniently discovered "facts," coupled with the usual string of atrocities, are bellowed forth by politician and priest. From the latter source comes a pamphlet entitled "Murder Most Foul," in which Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, endeavours to make our hair stand on end with a description of what he claims to have seen in France and Belgium.

When reading of these atrocities the workers should understand that the war is conducted by the capitalist class; they determine what instruments of destruction are used, as also they decide the general line of action to be followed by the armies under their control. The starving of a nation by using the British Navy to blockade German ports, in common with so many other vile deeds of this war, is carried out at the command of one or another section of the capitalist class. Upon that class, therefore, falls the responsibility for these atrocities, and not upon a particular nation. As evidence one may quote from the pamphlet mentioned above. Following the section headed "A Thousand Individual Atrocities" the writer tells us—

"That all these atrocities were carefully planned in advance for terrorising the people is proved by the fact that on the morning of August 15th the officers, who had received great kindness from Madame Roomans, a notary's wife, warned her to make her escape immediately, as the looting and killing of all the citizens, men, women, and children, was about to begin."

Knowing the capitalist class, no Socialist would find the statement difficult to credit. Their callous brutality knows no limits. The one ruling passion that moves them is profits; to the destruction of working-class life they are completely indifferent.

In spite of the terrible tales the pamphlet is not without its humour. By way of showing the contrast between the "war-like Germans" and the "peaceful French" he says:

"One morning the enemy stood at the gate. The farmer with his pruning knife was no

match for a German with a machine gun, and down he went under the plum tree he was pruning."

It is hard to say who would feel most insulted, the farmer who is accused of such a stupid action as pruning a plum tree while the Germans brought up a machine gun to end his troubles, or the people who are expected to believe such nonsense.

Having waded through a flood of tears, excluded for the benefit of those plum trees which are now "dead and dry," we alight upon the following information:

"Americans invented for Germany her revolver, her machine gun, her turreted ship, and her torpedo submarine."

The boast of this champion of peace that his compatriots supplied Germany with her machine gun sounds rather strange after the sympathy expressed for the French farmer with his pruning knife, and as regards the submarine it appears to be a case of the biter bit, as it will be again when the workers realise the way to their emancipation, and having by political action gained control of the armed forces, shall use them to overthrow the class that dominate them, and so put an end to their "murder most foul" for ever. G.

THE WORSHIP OF DEATH.

Within a vast cathedral, dimly lit by the shaded light of innumerable lamps, was gathered a great multitude of people. It was a motley assembly: old and young, rich and poor, the great and the small, the soldier and the civilian, all having apparently met together in order that they might share in common the gratification and consolation to be obtained from the due performance of the rites and ceremonies called for by their particular form of religion. And certainly the prayers and hymns that were said, the sonorous intonations of the priests, the long and eloquent address given by the great high priest, all seemed to have their due effect. A rapt expression shone on the faces of the people, a light was in their eyes, a smile upon their lips. One might say with truth that there indeed was an earnest and enthusiastic congregation, entering wholeheartedly into the outward expression of the tenets of their faith. Among much that was noteworthy, the following hymn was rendered peculiarly so by the air of great gusto and enjoyment with which it was sung by the entire concourse. (I learnt later that it was known as "The Hymn to Death"):

Oh! Death, thou great and glorious King,
Thy hymn thy praises through the world.
Monarch of pain and suffering,
Thy blood-stained banners stream unfurled:
Where'er humanity draws breath,
Thou bearest in thy strong right hand
Famine and pestilence and blight;
Thou sendest forth as thy command
The word to kill, to bleed dead-white.
All hail! Lord Death!

From every continent and sea
The echo of thy voice is heard.
The nations gather at thy knee,
The kings and captains to thy word
Harken with awe and bated breath.
At thy behest the cannons roar,
The bayonets clash, the bullets fly,
Thy dreams are dreams of endless war,
Dreams of a mad ferocity.
All hail! Lord Death.

Greater than beauty is thy power,
Greater than love, or fame, or art,
Hasten the long-expected hour
When we, thy slaves, shall see depart
Life and what it has sometimes meant.
When in a waste of starless night
Life shall be trampled in the dust;
Hurled from their proud, stupendous height
Beauty and love shall rot and rust.
Hail! Death Omnipotent!

As the multitude surged out into the street the latest war news was being called—"Great Victory! Advance of a thousand yards on a five miles front? Enormous enemy losses!" Good news indeed. There were gleeful smiles and a rubbing of hands with satisfaction as the crowd dispersed on its several ways. F. J. W.

BY THE WAY.

The month which has just closed has been a memorable one. With the renewed German offensive on the Western front, the reassembling of Parliament after the Easter vacation, and the introduction of the new Man Power Bill to facilitate the enlistment of the older men—who for so long have had a burning desire to assist in the speedy prosecution of the war and who have been regretting that they were "over age" and therefore only to hold the coats of others while they fought—these events have tended to create in official parlance a "lively interest."

The question of conscription for Ireland brought forth a storm of indignation from the Irish members. Incidentally I would add that to my mind this attitude seems somewhat inconsistent. The Irish party have supported the war and have assisted in fastening the yoke of conscription upon the inhabitants of this isle, and yet object to the Government (confering the same obligation on them. Had their hands been clean, had they opposed the war and conscription of those in this isle, then they would have had some justification for opposing the conscription of Irishmen.

On this subject one Irish member (Mr. Dillon) stated that the Government have thrown this apple of discord into the public arena in order to divert attention from the disastrous failure of their strategy and their administration by fomenting trouble in Ireland, and escaping responsibility for the pass to which they have brought the nation's affairs. There is, indeed, something to be said for this charge, for undoubtedly the dust that is being raised over Ireland helps to obscure the question of the appalling sacrifices which are being made on the fighting front.

Mr. Lloyd George, in introducing his Man Power Bill, made reference to the relative strength of the opposing armies, and then went on to talk of how the problem of the offensive had been closely studied by the military staff at Versailles, and how they had come to the conclusion that the attack would come South of Arras, and that it would be an attack on the widest front that had yet been assailed. He mentioned the approximate number of German divisions that would be engaged with the object of breaking the British line and capturing Amiens and severing the British and French forces. Then he added:

That was the conclusion Sir Henry Wilson came to three months ago, and I think it is one of the most remarkable forecasts of enemy intentions that have been made. Another remarkable prediction was that the attack would probably succeed to an extent of half the distance of the front attacked.

"Daily News," April 10th, 1918.

From the above it would seem that Lloyd George and his military adviser far excel Old Moore and Mother Shipton in the matter of prophetic vision. But how comes it to pass that Lloyd George and his chief spokesman in the House differ so widely on such an important concern? The night following Mr. Bonar Law spoke on the Bill and gave certain reasons why the House should pass this measure, and, replying to Mr. Asquith's criticism of the application to Ireland of conscription, he went on to say:

The sole test of the proposals was whether they would help us in the conduct of the war. There was no use attempting to conceal from the House the position. What had happened in France was not expected, and the Government were asked why it had happened. The fact was until the hour at which the battle commenced the balance of forces in every direction was not against the Allies on the Western front. (Italics mine).

"Daily News," April 11th, 1918.

Some contradiction, this? Perhaps this statement of Bonar Law would account for the frantic "S.O.S." message the Prime Minister sent to America and the Colonies pleading for immediate help. At any rate there is an opportunity here for the National War Aims and enlightenment Committee to disentangle the

conflicting stories and give a long-suffering public the truth. What a change it would be!

It was Bethmann-Hollweg, I believe, who gave utterance to the now famous words, "Necessity knows no law." While there are many moneyed people here who believe that we are veritable saints and the "enemy" the vilest sinners, there steadily accumulates overwhelming evidence that our rulers are prepared to act on the above formula. The pledges and undertakings given so profusely have become so many scraps of paper. Their name is legion. The last "pledge" or "understanding" to be violated is difficult to understand because Lloyd George and company were apprised of what was going to happen "three months ago" in the "remarkable forecast" of Sir Henry Wilson. We have heard times out of number that the Germans were using boys and greybeards in their fighting line, and many people here have exclaimed with a shudder "We would scorn to do such things. Perish the thought!" But wait. We have been aware from the beginning that quite a large number of boys here have been sent to the front, and after much wrangling in the House an "undertaking" was given that such practice should cease. Says Lloyd George:

There was an understanding as to boys under 19 years of age that they should only be used in case of emergency. We felt that that emergency had arisen. In so far as those who were over 18½ years, and had already received six months training, we felt it necessary that they should be sent to France.

"Daily News," April 10th, 1918.

Emergency, forsooth! It matters little to the master class whether boys or old men are to be used as cannon fodder so long as capitalist society survives. The same paper the following day commenting on the above says: "The situation is not improved by the outrageous cant of promoting a measure in Parliament to enable the Government to do what they have already done in defiance of their pledged word."

A good illustration of the "unity" that exists is evidenced from the following dialogue which took place on the Government asking leave to introduce a new Man Power Bill in the House:

Mr. Landon said he would tell the young men of his constituency that it was better to die on their own doorsteps than on the fields of France and Belgium on behalf of a gang of hypocrites. The Government might give orders to shoot, but the Irish people would shoot too.

Mr. Stanton: You are getting into bad company, old chap. Bolo!

Mr. Landon: I prefer to be in the company of my fellow-countrymen, fighting for the liberty of my own country, than to be allied with renegade Labour men, tricksters, and traitors who tell us they are fighting for the rights of small nationalities, while they deny those rights to the nation which is near at home.

"Daily Chronicle," April 10th, 1917.

It would seem that Mr. Landon got in a "hammer-stroke" which will leave a very sore and tender spot in the too ample (considering we are all supposed to be on a war-time diet) regions where it fell.

A sidelight on how capitalist politicians play the game was brought to light in the discussion on this all-absorbing theme of man-power. Mr. Asquith took several opportunities to speak against the Government's proposal of conscripting Irishmen, but failed to take his courage in both hands and vote against it in the division lobby. In a windy apology he says:

Grave as was the situation on Tuesday it is far graver to-day. I am not using the language of pessimism or of panic. The most criminal folly that we could commit would be to blind our eyes to the extent and the urgency of the peril, and at this moment I could not be a party to proceedings in this House which, if they succeeded, must have the effect of preventing those—when every hour and every minute counts—who are for the time being responsible to the nation and the Empire and to our Allies for extricating the greatest of causes from the gravest of perils, from doing what it is in the interest of the world essential they should do—namely, continuously and unremittingly concentrate every hour of their time, every faculty of their mind, every fibre of their being on saving from disaster the cause of the Allies. I cannot take that responsibility.

bility. I am perfectly prepared to submit to any amount of criticism, and even approbrium, rather than do that.—"Daily News," April 13th, 1918.

The writer of the paragraphs under the heading of "The Talking Shop," in "Reynolds's" (14.4.18) lets the cat out of the bag nicely and shows up the "clean" methods of those who are babbling a lot about a "clean" peace. He writes: "Then came a telling speech from Mr. Joe Devlin, one of the best speakers in the House. He retold the tale of the malignant and crazy conduct of the military authorities in Ireland at the beginning of the war, when the Irish were wild with enthusiasm for the cause of the Allies. One incident will illustrate the temper then prevailing. The late Mr. John Redmond tried in vain to get a commission for his son, and the young man, now a captain, who has won his promotion in the field, joined as a private. More than this, a distinguished Englishman, sent over to recruit in Ireland, was told by the Irish authorities 'Do not recruit Papists, we don't want them to join, and then it will be a good cry against Home Rule after the war that they did not.' And it is after treatment of this sort that Irishmen are blamed for not rushing to the colours."

An interesting item of news from a recent issue of a daily paper: "We know very little about the war out there," said a wounded soldier to me yesterday. "We look forward to our cigarettes and parcels from home, we go on fighting, wishing for leave, hoping for a wound, wishing the war was over, and feeling jolly glad we are not dead." ("Daily News," April 20th, 1918.) Delightfully frank, is it not? "Hoping for a wound," or, as some of them describe it, a "Blighty touch," in order to get away from the disgusting scenes of capitalist murder and anarchy.

One must confess a little disappointment that the "Holy Willies" are to be excluded from the new Military Service Act. After hearing their laudatory observations on the righteousness of "our" cause, their cocksureness that God is on the side of the Allies, combined with their warlike attitude in the pulpit and their generally good physique, one would have thought that they would have proved the right sort of material for stopping the "hosts of sin advancing." However, it was not to be. Our brother in the Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury, told us, when addressing the Lords spiritual and temporal, that "now that the proposal was dropped widespread disappointment was expressed among the clergy. He was arranging immediately a meeting of the bishops to consider how they could provide for voluntary enrolment." It is to be hoped that as the result of this that they will roll up in their thousands. Let us now sing "Onward Christian Soldiers."

The oneness of the capitalist class the world over is to be seen quite clearly by those who care to read the Press without their master's spectacles. Further point may be given to our leading article of last month wherein we drew attention to the fact that the bourgeois party in Russia were "calling upon friend and foe to deliver them out of the hands of the Bolsheviks." Now we read that—

General Mannerheim, the Commander of the White Guards, has published an order of the day, which states that at the request of the Finnish Government detachments of Germany's "victorious and powerful army have landed on Finnish soil to help drive out the Bolsheviks and their murderous adherents.

"In bidding Germany's brave warriors welcome to Finland I therefore trust that every man in the Finnish army will prove his appreciation of the great sacrifice which Germany's noble people are now making for our country at a time when every man is needed for his own country's war."

"Daily News," April 11th, 1918.

Here we see the bourgeois party of Finland joining hands with their confreres of Germany in order to put down the revolutionary element in their midst. How often will the international working class require this object lesson brought

to their notice ere they profit by it! When they grasp this salient fact—that when the interests of the ruling class are threatened by an uprising of the revolutionary working class, then the master class will drop their petty squabbles and unite in order to smash any endeavour on the part of their slaves to free themselves—they will realise the need for organising on class lines internationally for the purpose of capturing political power and ending for ever the domination of an idle and useless class. Speed the day!

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To-day we have to depend upon capitalist newspapers, which in turn only print what the censor lets them, for items of news from other lands. But from tit-bits which occasionally find their way into our masters' journals we get just a glimpse of what is being done and said abroad. For instance, quite recently I strayed across the following:

Herr Edward Bernstein, one of the members of the Minority Socialist Party in the Reichstag, publishes in to-day's "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" the first of a series of articles dealing with the inner history of the Social Democratic Movement during the war. He mentions that before the Committee of the Socialist Party issued their statement on the eve of hostilities to the effect that the war was in defence of German Kultur against Russian despotism, they circulated a fiery appeal among the German working classes declaring: "Not a drop of the blood of a German soldier must be sacrificed to the Austrian rulers' lust of power or for the interests of Imperialists."

Herr Bernstein adds: "In spite of this urgent call of the Social Democratic Party, Social Democracy granted the credits for a war which was to cost oceans of the blood of German soldiers. It is now clear that this vote of credit was an opportunist move, and it was natural enough that after the mental fog of those August days had lifted and the true nature of the war stood revealed, a section of the party should endeavour to return to the old policy. Hence the beginning of the Independent Socialist movement."

—"Daily News," April 10th, 1918.

Now from the foregoing it would seem that many of these German Social Democrats correspond exactly to our own Labour Party here—in a word, are non-Socialist—hence the confusion of thought which leads them to support war credits and generally the ruling class. It is refreshing, however, to note that there appears to be the nucleus of a party approximating more nearly to our own. Our manifesto, published at the earliest possible moment after the declaration of war, where we declare that "no interests are at stake justifying the shedding of a single drop of working-class blood," and so on, bears witness to our faith in the international working-class movement.

Who with any pretension to Socialist understanding and knowledge would accuse our pelf and place-seeking labour opportunists of being Socialists? It is the veriest moonshine. Yet we find quite a number of people ready at all times to swallow holus-bolus the statement that these said individuals are Socialist because they occasionally give lip-service to revolutionary phrases. Deeds, not words, are the test. "He who is not for us is against us," and this aptly excludes them from any claim to the title of Socialist.

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We have grown accustomed to reading all sorts of appeals which have for their object a facilitation of the working of the war machine. A recent one says: "Stop house-painting and decorating"; goes on to state that at this season of the year "there is generally a perfect orgy of white paint and whitewash," and concludes thus:

All this should stop. Just now there is an increased demand for cottages for munition workers in various parts of the country, and this demand will be seriously interfered with if the labour is diverted to other schemes. Dirty walls and ceilings are in these days an evidence of patriotism.

—"Daily Chronicle," April 3rd, 1918.

Once upon a time we heard repeated with monotonous regularity that "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." Evidently dirt and patriotism are now interchangeable terms in our masters' vocabulary.

THE SCOUT.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

28 UNION STREET, LONDON, W.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Suns. 4.30

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secrv. c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend. HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette Street, Hackney, N.E.

LONDON.—Communications to Sec. S.P.G.B. 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

MANCHESTER.—All communications to Secy., W. Torr, 111 West Park St., Salford. Branch meets Sundays at 3, at the United Garment Workers' Office, 59 New Bridge St., Victoria Station, Cheetham.

MARYLEBONE. Communications to Sec. at 28 Union St., W. 1.

NOTTINGHAM.

SO. LONDON-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 5 Wellington Ave., Westcliff-on-Sea

TOOTING.—All communications to be addressed to Secy., branch rooms. Branch meets at 100 Upper Tooting Rd., alternate Thursdays from August 9th at 8.30 p.m.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224 High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badliiss-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 460, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revell, Secy., 52 Lordship Ln. Branch meets Wed. at 8 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

GAWD STRUTH WE HAVE.

We have fed you full for a thousand years
And you hail us still unfed,
Though there's never a quid of all your wealth
But marks the workers dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest,
And you lie on a crimson wool,
For if blood be the price of all your wealth,
By Christ! we have paid in full.

There's never a mine blown skyward now
But we're buried alive for you;
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go! reckon your dead by your forges red,
And in factories where we spin;
If blood be the price of your cursed wealth,
By Christ! we have paid in full.

We have fed you full for a thousand years,
For that was our doom you know,
From the day that you chained us to your fields
To the strike of a week ago.
You have eaten our lives and our babes and wives.

And they say its your lawful share;
But if blood be the price of your lawful wealth
By Christ! we have bought it fair.

STRIPLING.

COMPLETE.

"Are you a Christian?" a West Indian seaman was asked before being sworn at West Ham Police Court, and he replied "No, sar, we quiet men."—"Daily Chronicle," 15.4.19.

THUS SPAKE THE LIAR.

To those who fall I say, "You will not die, but step into immortality"—Gen. Sir A. W. Currie.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

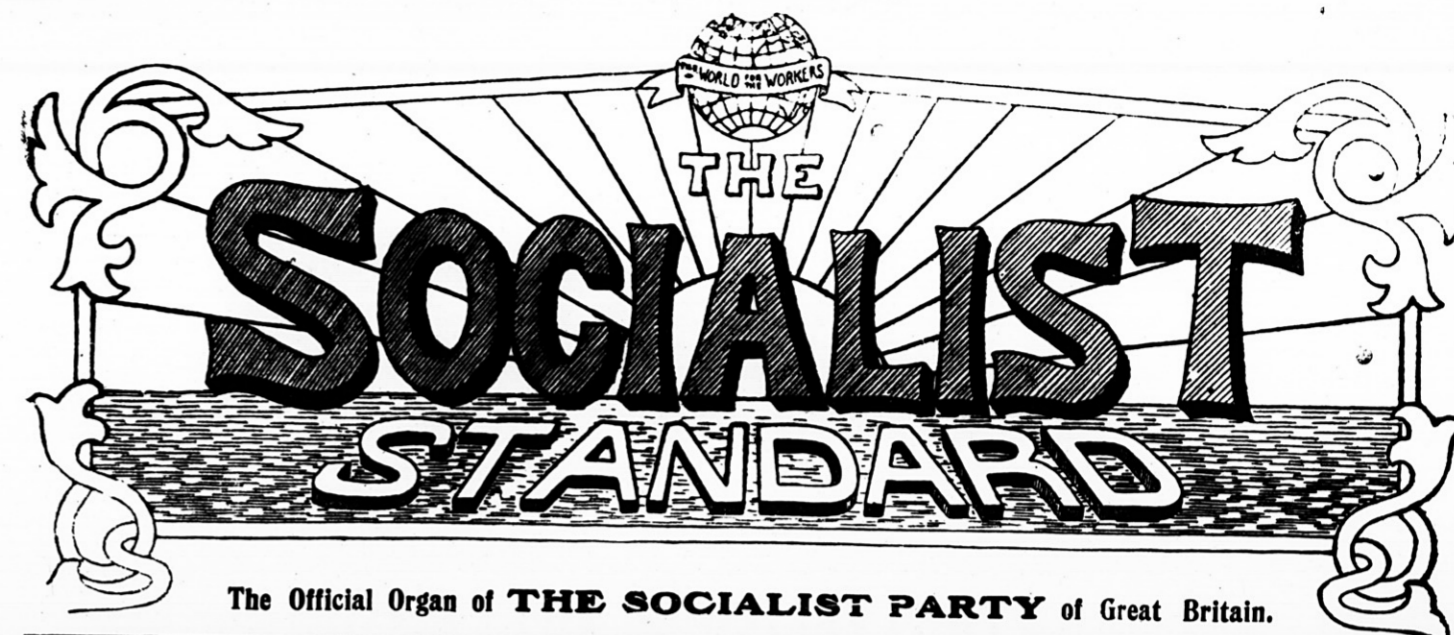
The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

THINK IT OVER.

The workers are rationed in coal and gas, so that in many directions they are falling victims to the new disease through having to eat their food raw. Meanwhile, a month ago green peas were in the market at 4s. lb. first hand, tomatoes at 9s. per lb., and strawberries at 22s. per lb. This sort of thing shows where the coal is going. It also sheds a ray of light on the "war sacrifices" of the canting humbugs who are everlastingly calling upon the workers to deny themselves in order to win the war for democracy. Think it over.



No. 166. Vol. 14.]

LONDON, JUNE, 1918.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

'MACHINERY AND MODERN INDUSTRY.'

REPRINTED FROM 'CAPITAL' (MARX).

John Stuart Mill says in his "Principles of Political Economy": "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." That is, however, by no means the aim of the capitalist application of machinery. Like every other increase in the productiveness of labour, machinery is intended to cheapen commodities, and, by shortening that portion of the working day in which the labourer works for himself, to lengthen the other portion that he gives, without an equivalent, to the capitalist. In short, it is a means of producing surplus-value.

In manufacture, the revolution in the mode of production begins with the labour-power, in modern industry it begins with the instruments of labour. Our first enquiry then is, how the instruments of labour are converted from tools into machines, or what is the difference between a machine and the implements of a handicraft? We are only concerned here with the striking and general characteristics; for epochs in the history of society are no more separated from each other by hard and fast lines of demarcation than are geological epochs.

Mathematicians and mechanicians, and in this they are followed by a few English economists, call a tool a simple machine and a machine a complex tool. They see no essential difference between them, and even give the name of machine to the simple mechanical powers, the lever, the inclined plane, the screw, the wedge, etc. As a matter of fact every machine is a combination of those simple powers, no matter how they may be disguised. From the economical standpoint this explanation is worth nothing, because the historical element is wanting. Another explanation of the difference between tool and machine is that in the case of a tool, man is the motive power, while the motive power of a machine is something different from man, is, for instance, an animal, water, wind, and so on. According to this, a plough drawn by oxen, which is a contrivance common to the most different epochs, would be a machine, while Claussen's circular loom, which, worked by a single labourer, weaves 96,000 picks a minute, would be a mere tool. Nay, this very loom, though a tool when worked by hand, would, if worked by steam, be a machine. And since the application of animal power is one of man's earliest inventions, production by machinery would have preceded production by handicrafts. When in 1735, John Wyatt brought out his spinning machine, and began the industrial revolution of the 18th century, he did not say a word about an ass driving it instead of a man, and yet this part fell to the ass. He described it as a machine "to spin without fingers."

All fully developed machinery consists of three essentially different parts, the motor mechanism, the transmitting mechanism, and finally the tool or working machine. The motor

mechanism is that which puts the whole in motion. It either generates its own motive power, like the steam engine, the calorific engine, the electro-magnetic machine, etc., or it receives its impulse from some already existing natural force, like the water-wheel from a head of water, the wind-mill from wind, etc. The transmitting mechanism, composed of fly-wheels, shafting, toothed wheels, pulleys, straps, ropes, bands, pinions, and gearing of the most varied kinds, regulates the motion, changes its form where necessary, as, for instance, from linear to circular, and divides and distributes it among the working machines. These two first parts of the whole mechanism are there, solely for putting the working machines in motion, by means of which motion the subject of labour is seized upon and modified as desired. The tool or working-machine is that part of the machinery with which the industrial revolution of the 18th century started. And to this day it constantly serves as such a starting-point, whenever a handicraft, or a manufacture, is turned into an industry carried on by machinery.

On a closer examination of the working-machine proper, we find in it, as a general rule, though often, no doubt, under very altered forms, the apparatus and tools used by the handicraftsman or manufacturing workman; with this difference, that instead of being human implements, they are the implements of a mechanism, or mechanical implements. Either the entire machine is only a more or less altered mechanical edition of the old handicraft tool, as, for instance, the power-loom, or the working parts fitted in the machine are old acquaintances, as spindles are in a mule, needles in a stocking loom, saws in a sawing machine, and knives in a chopping machine. The distinction between these tools and the body proper of the machine, exists from their very birth; for they continue for the most part to be produced by handicraft, or by manufacture, and are afterwards fitted into the body of the machine, which is the product of machinery. The machine proper is therefore a mechanism that, after being set in motion, performs with its tools the same operations that were formerly done by the workman with similar tools. Whether the motive power is derived from man, or from some other machine, makes no difference in this respect. From the moment that the tool proper is taken from man, and fitted into a mechanism, a machine takes the place of a mere implement. The difference strikes one at once, even in those cases where man himself continues to be the prime mover. The number of implements that he himself can use simultaneously, is limited by the number of his own natural instruments of production, by the number of his bodily organs. In Germany they tried at first to make one spinner work two spinning wheels, that is, to work simultaneously with both hands and

both feet. This was too difficult. Later a treadle spinning wheel with two spindles was invented, but adepts at spinning, who could spin two threads at once, were almost as scarce as two-headed men. The Jenny, on the other hand, even at its very birth, spun with 12-18 spindles, and the stocking-loom knits with many thousand needles at once. The number of tools that a machine can bring into play simultaneously, is from the very first emancipated from the organic limits that hedge in the tools of the handicraftsman.

In many manual implements the distinction between man as mere motive power and man as the workman or operator properly so-called, is brought into striking contrast. For instance, the foot is merely the prime mover of the spinning wheel, while the hand, working with the spindle, and drawing and twisting, performs the real operation of spinning. It is this last part of the handicraftsman's implement that is first seized upon by the industrial revolution, leaving to the workman, in addition to his new labour of watching the machine with his eyes and correcting its mistakes with his hands, the merely mechanical part of being the moving power. On the other hand, implements, in regard to which man has always acted as a simple motive power, as, for instance, by turning the crank of a mill, by pumping, by moving up and down the arm of a bellows, by pounding with a mortar, etc., such implements soon call for the application of animals, water, and wind as motive powers. Here and there, long before the period of manufacture, and also, to some extent, during that period, these implements pass over into machines, but without creating any revolution in the mode of production. It becomes evident, in the period of Modern Industry, that these implements, even under their form of manual tools, are already machines. For instance, the pumps with which the Dutch, in 1836-7, emptied the lake of Harlem, were constructed on the principle of ordinary pumps, the only difference being that their pistons were driven by cyclopean steam-engines, instead of by men. The common and very imperfect bellows of the blacksmith is, in England, occasionally converted into a blowing engine, by connecting its arm with a steam engine. The steam-engine itself, such as it was at its invention, during the manufacturing period at the close of the 17th century, and as it continued to be down to 1780, did not give rise to any industrial revolution. It was, on the contrary, the invention of machines that made a revolution in the form of steam-engines necessary. As soon as man, instead of working with an implement on the subject of his labour becomes merely the motive power of an implement-machine, it is a mere accident that motive power takes the disguise of human muscle; and it may equally well take the form of wind, water, or

steam. Of course, this does not prevent such a change of form from producing great technical alterations in the mechanism that was originally constructed to be driven by man alone. Nowadays, all machines that have their way to make, such as sewing machines, bread-making machines, etc., are, unless from their very nature their use on a small scale is excluded, constructed to be driven both by human and by purely mechanical motive power.

The machine, which is the starting point of the industrial revolution, supersedes the workman, who handles a single tool, by a mechanism operating with a number of similar tools, and set in motion by a single motive power, whatever the form of that motive power may be. Here we have the machine, but only as an elementary factor of production by machinery.

Increase in the size of the machine, and in the number of its working tools, calls for a more massive mechanism to drive it; and this mechanism requires, in order to overcome its resistance, a mightier moving power than that of man, apart from the fact that man is a very imperfect instrument for producing uniform continued motion. But assuming that he is acting simply as a motor, that a machine has taken the place of his tool, it is evident that he can be replaced by natural forces. Of all the great motors handed down from the manufacturing period, horse-power is the worst, partly because a horse has a head of his own, partly because he is costly, and the extent to which he is applicable in factories is very restricted. Nevertheless the horse was extensively used during the infancy of modern industry. This is proved, as well by the complaints of contemporary agriculturists, as by the term "horse-power," which has survived to this day as an expression of mechanical force.

Wind was too inconstant and uncontrollable, and besides, in England, the birth-place of Modern Industry, the use of water-power preponderated even during the manufacturing period. In the 17th century attempts had already been made to turn two pairs of millstones with a single water-wheel. But the increased size of the gearing was too much for the water-power, which had now become insufficient, and this was one of the circumstances that led to a more accurate investigation into the laws of friction. In the same way the irregularity caused by the motive power in mills that were put in motion by pushing and pulling a lever, led to the theory, and the application, of the fly-wheel, which afterwards plays so important a part in Modern Industry. In this way, during the manufacturing period, were developed the first scientific and technical elements of Modern Mechanical Industry. Arkwright's throstle-spinning mill was from the very first turned by water. But for all that, the use of water, as the predominant motive power, was beset with difficulties. It could not be increased at will, it failed at certain seasons of the year, and, above all, it was essentially local. Not till the invention of Watt's second and so-called double-acting steam-engine, was a prime mover found, that begot its own force by the consumption of coal and water, whose power was entirely under man's control, that was mobile and a means of locomotion, that was urban, and not like the water-wheel, rural, that permitted production to be concentrated in towns instead of, like the water-wheels, scattered up and down the country, that was of universal technical application, and, relatively speaking, little affected in its choice of residence by local circumstances. The greatness of Watt's genius showed itself in the specification of the patent that he took out in April, 1784. In that specification his steam-engine is described, not as an invention for a specific purpose, but as an agent universally applicable in Mechanical Industry. In it he points out applications, many of which, as for instance, the steam-hammer, were not introduced till half a century later. Nevertheless he doubted the use of steam-engines in navigation. His successors, Boulton and Watt, sent to the exhibition of 1851 steam-engines of colossal size for ocean steamers.

As soon as tools had been converted from being manual implements of man into implements of a mechanical apparatus, of a machine,

the motive mechanism also acquired an independent form, entirely emancipated from the restraints of human strength. Thereupon the individual machine, that we have hitherto been considering, sinks into a mere factor in production by machinery. One motive mechanism was now able to drive many machines at once. The motive mechanism grows with the number of the machines that are turned simultaneously and the transmitting mechanism becomes a wide-spreading apparatus.

We now proceed to distinguish the co-operation of a number of machines of one kind from a complex system of machinery.

In the one case the product is entirely made by a single machine, which performs all the various operations previously done by one handicraftsman with his tool; as, for instance, by a weaver with his loom; or by several handicraftsmen successively, either separately or as members of a system of Manufacture. For example, in the manufacture of envelopes, one man folded the paper with a folder, another laid on the gum, a third turned the flap over, on which the device is impressed, a fourth embossed the device, and so on; and for each of the operations the envelope had to change hands. One single envelope machine now performs all these operations at once, and makes more than 3,000 in an hour.* In the London exhibition of 1862, there was an American machine for making paper cornets. It cut the paper, pasted, folded and finished 300 in a minute. Here, the whole process, which, when carried on as a Manufacture, was split up into, and carried out by, a series of operations, is completed by a single machine, working a combination of various tools. Now, whether such a machine be merely a reproduction of a complicated manual implement, or a combination of various simple implements specialised by Manufacture, in either case, in the factory, i.e., in the workshop in which machinery alone is used, we meet again with simple co-operation; and, leaving the workman out of consideration for the moment, this co-operation presents itself to us, in the first instance, as the conglomeration in one place of similar and simultaneously acting machines. Thus, a weaving factory is constituted of a number of power-looms, working side by side, and a sewing factory of a number of sewing machines all in the same building. But there is here a technical oneness in the whole system, owing to all the machines receiving their impulse simultaneously, and in an equal degree, from the pulsations of the common prime mover, by the intermediary of the transmitting mechanism; and this mechanism, to a certain extent, is common to them all, since only particular ramifications of it branch off to each machine. Just as a number of tools, then, form the organs of a machine, so a number of machines of one kind constitute the organs of the motive mechanism.

A real machinery system, however, does not take the place of these independent machines until the subject of labour goes through a connected series of detail processes, that are carried out by a chain of machines of various kinds, the one supplementing the other. Here we have again the co-operation by division of labour that characterises Manufacture; only now, it is a combination of detail machines. The special tools of the various detail workmen, such as those of the beaters, combers, spinners, etc., in the woollen manufacture, are now transformed into the tools of specialised machines, each machine constituting a special organ, with a special function, in the system. In those branches of industry in which the machinery system is first introduced, Manufacture itself furnishes, in a general way, the natural basis for the division, and consequent organisation, of the process of production. Nevertheless an essential difference at once manifests itself. In Manufacture it is the workman who, with their manual implements, must, either singly or in groups, carry on each particular detail process. If, on the one hand, the workman becomes adapted to the process, on the other, the process was previously made suitable to the workman. This subjective principle of the division of

* If some of these technical references appear to be out of date, the reader must bear in mind that Marx wrote this work over half a century ago.

labour no longer exists in production by machinery. Here, the process as a whole is examined objectively, in itself, that is to say, without regard to the question of its execution by human hands, it is analysed into its constituent phases; and the problem, how to execute each detail process, and bind them into a whole, is solved by the aid of machines, chemistry, etc. But, of course, theory must be perfected by accumulated experience on a large scale. Each detail machine supplies raw material to the machine next in order; and since they are all working at the same time, the product is always going through the various stages of its fabrication, and is also constantly in a state of transition, from one phase to another. Just as in Manufacture, the direct co-operation of the detail labourers establishes a numerical proportion between the special groups, so in an organised system of machinery, where one detail machine is constantly kept employed by another, a fixed relation is established between their numbers, their size, and their speed. The collective machine, now an organised system of various kinds of single machines, and of groups of single machines, becomes more and more perfect, the more the process as a whole becomes a continuous one, i.e., the less the raw material is interrupted in its passage from its first phase to its last; in other words, the more its passage is effected, not by the hand of man, but by the machinery itself. In Manufacture the isolation of each detail process is a condition imposed by the nature of division of labour, but in the fully developed factory the continuity of those processes is, on the contrary, inevitable.

A system of machinery, whether it reposes on the mere co-operation of similar machines, as in weaving, or a combination of different machines, as in spinning, constitutes itself a huge automaton, whenever it is driven by a self-acting prime mover. But although the factory as a whole be driven by its steam-engine, yet either some of the individual machines may require the aid of the workman for some of their movements (such aid was necessary for the running in of the mule carriage before the invention of the self-acting mule, and is still necessary in fine-spinning mills); or, to enable a machine to do its work, certain parts of it may require to be handled by the workman like a tool; this was the case in machine-makers' workshops before the conversion of the slide rest into a self-actor. As soon as a machine executes, without man's help, all the movements requisite to elaborate the raw material, needing only attendance from him, we have an automatic system of machinery, and one that is susceptible of constant improvement in its details. Such improvements as the apparatus that stops a drawing frame, whenever a sliver breaks, and a self-acting stop, that stops the power-loom so soon as the shuttle bobbin is emptied of weft, are quite modern inventions. As an example, both of continuity of production, and of the carrying out of the automatic principle, we may take a modern paper mill. In the paper industry generally, we may advantageously study in detail not only the distinctions between modes of production based on different means of production, but also the connexion of the social conditions of productions with these modes: for the old German paper-making furnishes us with a sample of handicraft production; that of Holland in the 17th and of France in the 18th century with a sample of manufacturing in the strict sense; and that of modern England with a sample of automatic fabrication of this article. Besides these, there still exist, in India and China, two distinct antique Asiatic forms of the same industry.

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SOCIETY AND MORALS.

PART VIII. THE OUTLOOK OF THE PROLETARIAT.—(Continued.)

The Re-Birth of Unrest.

The revival of trade union militancy which has taken place in recent years has its causes in those developments of capitalism we have previously outlined. The intense competition in the world markets which has supplanted the old-time "monopoly of Britain" made the employing class of all countries increasingly reluctant to concede even the least advances in wages. On the contrary, it stimulated the more general adoption of speeding-up methods and the wider use of the most perfect machinery. By depreciating the need for skill and increasing unemployment these factors led to a sharper competition for employment and tended to depress wages. The growth of trusts and of employers' federations has enabled the capitalists to offer a more effective resistance to the unions, while on the other hand a progressive increase in the cost of living has proved a spur to working-class unrest and organised activity, in spite of which real wages have continuously fallen.

In the last thirty years or so the strike policy has come again into favour, first among the newer and so-called unskilled unions, but later generally. Especially has this been so in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, during which period a continually growing unrest manifested itself among the workers in every part of the world. And it is probable also, that after the war militarism and capitalist "efficiency" will prove a further stimulant to working-class revolt, although, of course, the master class will make strenuous efforts to avoid industrial strife and suppress revolutionary propaganda.

To a certain extent a somewhat new outlook has been realised. The obvious dislike of the old-type officials and leaders to a militant policy and their love for the practice of "conferring" with the employers; their compromising attitude and frequently proven treachery, have also led to much unfavourable criticism and to a decided weakening of their prestige. As a result many strikes have taken place in opposition to the desires of a compromising executive.

Moreover, the strong co-operation manifested among the masters in their determined efforts to resist and to break strikes, and particularly also the growing frequency with which they used their class weapon—the armed forces—to brutally coerce strikers into submission, brought about a decided tendency toward closer solidarity among the workers themselves. This is evidenced in the consolidation of various unions in the same field of production, in the spread of "sympathetic" strikes, and in the voluntary raising of funds by organised workers in support of disputes in which they themselves were not directly concerned.

Furthermore, the gradual decline of the industrial value of personal skill on the part of the employees, together with the need for "fighting" efficiency, has compelled the older "aristocratic" craft unions to recognise that their old-time method of conserving the strength of the unions by insisting upon special qualifications, including the prior serving of long apprenticeships, is both obsolete and futile. They have been forced more and more to adopt the method of the later "unskilled" unions, who aim at including all those of a particular trade or industry within the organisation. Consequently, "non-unionism" has become almost as great a crime in the eyes of the unionist as "blacklegging"—the worst delinquency in his moral code.

The same causes which fermented this revival in industrial strife also stimulated among the workers a livelier interest in politics, which led to the formation of the Labour Party. The trade unions supported the project, and their leaders saw the possibility of political influence and office. The capitalist parties were 'cute enough to meet this new interest in political

affairs by formulating delusive schemes of social reform to pacify and mislead the workers.

Moreover, having found the Labour Party leaders willing to play the same game, the bourgeoisie, especially the petty capitalist element, have given it no little amount of support. The Labour Party, dominated as it is by the reactionary leaders of trades unionism and men of the same stamp, to all of whom the notion of a class struggle is obnoxious, has consistently upheld capitalist principles, and is in reality only a bourgeois party with a "labour" label. Having achieved nothing of value for the workers it has become the butt of adverse criticism from the same elements as have shown independence and militancy on the industrial field.

* * *

Thus far none of the movements mentioned above show any indication of being promoted by a full consciousness of proletarian interests. They register but the first stages of such a conception. The general mass of those who built up the strength both of the Chartist and of the trade union movement, saw and felt only their immediate sufferings and disabilities. The deep social causes from which these arose were mostly quite unrecognised. Consequently, no definite principles in opposition to capitalism were adopted by these movements, and no general code of proletarian ethics grew out of or with them.

Much the same applies to-day. The majority of the workers still accept the main dogmas of bourgeois orthodoxy. No doubt the trade unionist regards black-legging and non-unionism as bad and criminal whereas to the capitalist they are good and justifiable. Likewise extreme exploitation or "sweating" is abhorrent to the workers. Yet with regard to the existence of the wages system and of a profit-reaping class, the need for "national solidarity" in defence of "national interests," and the like, the working-class mind is a faithful reflection of that bourgeois outlook which we considered in a previous section. Even where the workers do show a divergence of opinion upon Free Trade or Protection, Pacifism or Imperialism, these are manifestly but the effect of similar differences among the employing class and its retainers. That these contentions are correct is abundantly proven by the attitude the workers of every belligerent nation adopted upon the outbreak of the European War.

Nevertheless there does exist a school of thought and action which accurately reflects proletarian needs and interests, and therefore presents a true working-class system of morality, and this is the Socialist movement. Originating in, but toward the climax and close of the first period of working-class revolt, Socialism persisted and grew up, as it had to, independently of the several reformist and palliating movements, receiving a fresh impetus with the coming of the second period of activity now growing surely year by year among the workers of the world.

Our next and final consideration, therefore, will be Socialism in its relation to morality.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

A CANCELENATION.

(Horse racing continues.)

But they can't run trains for workers.

And they can't bring coals to London Town.

And they can't find labour enough to carry on.

Yet it doesn't strike them to have a round-up of the Newmarket course.

The public might be surprised to find what a lot of leisure some folk can put into the work of national importance down there.

But then, of course, there is a difference between Bill Bailey at the Cambridge and Lord de Carriemehome at Newmarket—the one is a loafer and the other a "patriot."

And ye, pays ye' money and ye' takes ye' choice.

THE PASSING OF THE BARRICADE.

Toward the end of May nearly fifty years ago, were being enacted in Paris the closing scenes of the Commune. Successful for a too short time as it was in demonstrating the administrative capabilities of the working class, it at length fell to the superior military force and to the relentless fury of an alarmed bourgeoisie. In those last days of May 1871 was taught the momentous lesson of the failure of the barricade.

In our time we occasionally find rebellious spirits who still believe in the possibility of a new social order being obtained by physical means, and the armed power possessed by the capitalist class being overcome by means of overturned carts and piled paving stones, and sniping from roofs. How recent events have proved the fallacy of such a belief! What would happen to the defenders of a barricade now-a-days? Why, an aeroplane would drop a bomb and blow them to smithereens in an instant. Let the rebellious ones take refuge in cellars and gas would be pumped down among them till they were exterminated.

The science of killing makes no provision for heroes at this stage of the world's evolution. The march of Time has left behind the barricade and established the truth of our contention that the working class can only emancipate themselves by capturing the political machinery.

One fears, however, that like most of the obvious facts that are placed before the working class, it will be passed by unheeded, and that yet again will the toilers rush headlong against the bayonets and chassepots of armed authority. To prevent such a tragedy as that is the earnest endeavour of the Socialist Party directed. To teach the working class the way to achieve their economic emancipation, and to organise them for the task, are the reasons for the existence of our organisation.

Sad as has been the past, almost hopeless as seems the awful present, there nevertheless will come, slowly, maybe, but surely, to the slave class, the knowledge of their position, and they will turn their eyes about for the way out. Then shall we point to the history of the international proletariat, with its numberless barricades and futile martyrdoms, and from that path of failure we know they must turn to the way that has been shown them by the Socialist Party—political action; the only way to achieve the Social Revolution and establish Socialism.

S. H. S.

DISMAL COINAGE.

STERLING DECIMAL COINAGE. By Walter L. Craig. London: Effingham Wilson, Threadneedle-st. 2/6.

This little volume, published by Effingham Wilson, Threadneedle Street, is an exhaustive enquiry into the matter of the adoption of a decimal coinage for the British Empire. The author's reasoning is very cogent, and he incidentally shows how vested interests and official muddle-headedness and red tape stand in the way even of the capitalists doing the best for themselves.

Not that we are concerned about a decimal system of coinage. Its obvious efficiency as a labour-saver may be admitted, but is hardly likely to appeal to the unemployed clerk in post war days. Also, we are expecting to establish Socialism before Mr. Craig gets even a good start with his scheme to revolutionise the coinage, and under Socialism, in spite of Karl Kautsky, we shall have no use for either mils or £ s. d. There will be neither giving nor receiving of change, nor weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth over the too late discovery of a bad 'un. And if, as Mr. Craig says, the ha'penny has killed the farthing—poor mite!—Socialism will kill the damned lot.

The only advantage we can see for the working class is that, since any change is some change, a change to decimal coinage might provide a momentary interest, as the Daylight Slaving Bill did—and that is something.

hunger, overwork, or disease, your bodies will be consecrated in holy soil. Could mortal Jew wish for anything grander!

And how are these Zionists to procure Palestine? Let Dr. Weizman answer:

"It will support its claim by no armed force, for though Jews shed their blood for every belligerent country, there is no Jewish army. Their appeal will be based on right and justice alone."

Justice! One has painfully become acquainted with the uses that word can be put to. Although these Zionists do not intend to organise an army, in Caronic fashion, they see that it is the strongest force that homage and appeal for "justice" should be addressed. For when they were offered Palestine for the purpose of developing it, by the Turkish authorities, they refused it, since they were afraid of the jealousy or force of the other powers. But now we have a statement from the leader of the English section of Zionists (H. Sacher, "Daily News," June 5th, 1917):

"Dr. Weizman, President of the English Zionist Federation, has publicly announced that the British Government stands for a Jewish Palestine, and that the head of the Catholic Church contemplates a Jewish Palestine with the utmost benevolence."

If it is only the British Government which says so—the champions of small nationalities, the Dutch of South Africa, the Greeks, or the Irish, for instance—then justice must be on the side of the Zionists. But fancy a Zionist asking the views of the "piggish" Catholic head!

These fanatics are too dense and reactionary to see that the old Jewish social organisation is a thing of the past. As well might we talk of revivifying the gens of old. They have disappeared because society has advanced beyond them, and it is inconceivable that they can ever come again in the history of this present planet. With a new mode of producing wealth, new ideas and customs spring up, necessarily in conformity with the new economic demands of society. If Palestine would become a centre of thriving industry, instead of as now a mere centre for philanthropic and religious activities, then the customs and ideas there will conform to the mode of production that prevails in general in capitalist society.

It cannot be otherwise. If the Jews are to produce for a world market they will have to adopt all means and practices for producing cheaply, that we know the modern manufacturer must do.

Hence the same problems and evils must and will arise in Palestine that arise elsewhere where production is carried on for profit. Wage slavery, with all its attendant horrors, alone can be the corner-stone of a thriving and prosperous Jewish Palestine, as these terms are understood to-day, and from this there is no escape under the present system.

No, it is not this or that scheme of a few charlatans or pious dreamers that will solve the problem; it is the universal application of the principles of Socialism, by which those who produce the wealth of society shall enjoy it, that the present-day society with its festering sores will be removed. Then, and only then, can humanity, as a whole, claim the world to its own.

Therefore the cause of Socialism is and must be universal. So long as you are living in a society that forces you to be a wage-slave, you must, if you wish to be free, join hands with your fellow workers of all countries in the task of securing "the world for the workers," not Palestine for the Jews. It is in the interest of your masters that you should be divided by national and religious barriers, or side-tracked by reactionary schemes like the one we have had under review, which they are ever fostering and foisting upon you, so that you should not be able to think of occupying yourselves with the mission of freeing yourselves of capitalist bondage.

It is up to you, then, to study your class position in society, which is cosmopolitan and anti-religious in character. For it is only by so doing that you will become free in the truest sense of the term.

L. M.

'THE SUPREME SACRIFICE.'

The capitalist Press, possibly the dominant factor in the creation, moulding, and directing of "public opinion," obviously plays so important a part now-a-days, that quite a large number of people seem to consider that it renders them an inestimable service: for the Press thinks for them, and thus supplies them with a stock of opinions ready made. This is self-evident—a truism. Nevertheless, just as there are many facets to a diamond, so there are many view-points to most matters.

We find that the capitalist papers are often extremely ingenious in the way they exclude or misrepresent ideas and news of things hostile to the present system; but the distorted perspective of their outlook, and their cunning efforts to falsify facts and ensnare the masses are often very apparent to the Socialist.

The latter has, necessarily, a fundamentally different outlook from his pro-capitalist fellow-worker, although they are both wage slaves to the exploiting class.

Since the outbreak of this "war for freedom"—the colossal crime against the workers engineered by groups of plutocratic scoundrels—we have frequently seen the phrase, "The Supreme Sacrifice," in our masters' Press. The glib way in which it is used, and the deliberate concealment of the objects for which such vast numbers have been compelled to risk and yield up their lives, fills many with contempt. Class-conscious workers feel very poignantly the bitterness that fills them against the wealth lords of the world, who alone have caused the ruthless and wholesale disablement and death of our fellow workers in this and other lands. Our sadness and our anger, both, are inexpressible!

But we, as Socialists, wish to point to the "Supreme Sacrifice" the workers are making throughout their toiling existence, and will continue to make while the present system lasts—the pernicious system of capitalist production. One of the most bitterly true things ever written of the present regime is that the proletariat—the dispossessed and exploited wage-slaves—only commence to live when their daily toil is finished! What a comment on the civilisation that produces such a state of things! It is, we claim, for the mass irrefutable. No one can obtain employment unless with the sanction of, and under the terms made by, some exploiter of labour. No one is maintained in employment unless he can make his work "pay"—that is, make profit for his master. Ability of any kind must find its own market or it simply remains potential but inactive, no matter whether it be bricklaying or writing articles to keep starvation and the bailiff from the door. The land, the primal necessity from which all wealth is extracted, is inaccessible to the workers. Hence they must either accept their exploiters' terms or starve.

Wherein is the "freedom of contract" vaunted by the anti-Socialists? Freedom of slaves to remain slaves! The consequence is "the poor ye have always with you." And, ironical truth! as the late Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman himself avowed, in this country alone 12 million people are, through this damnable system, *always* on the verge of hunger. Think of it, ye who boast of a "glorious Empire"!

This system, with plutocrats at one end of the social scale and paupers at the other, is the necessary outcome of the means of living being in the hands of a class. The non-possessors are thereby compelled to produce wealth which is appropriated by those who own the means by which it is produced, the former receiving in return for their efforts wages barely sufficient to support them.

The result of this dispossession and exploitation of the wage workers by the "men in possession" is of the most blighting kind. All that constitutes the essence of life is but sparingly theirs: they are starved of life's gifts who produce far more than they need to make it enjoyable and worth while.

From their first day of wage slavery until their last they are compelled to sacrifice their existence for other's gain.

The workers' economic bondage to another class results in the former's complete subjugation. Religious, social, civic, and national life reflect this class subjection. Press, pulpit, and parliament are triply allied to maintain and secure the economic thralldom of the masses. Capitalist legislation is simply and solely made for capitalist interests. Control by the capitalists of the political power means control of the Army, Navy, and Police, which are used by them simply as ever-ready means of maintaining their class rule and keeping old markets free from their capitalist rivals and gaining new ones.

Even education has for its purpose the shaping of the minds and hands of the workers to be efficient tools for profit production, and to keep them submissive, unassuming slaves, easy to control, and "safe to ride and drive."

What a sacrifice the multifarious abilities possessed by the toilers is evinced daily! What a renunciation of their own interests! How great a denial of opportunities for culture and leisure! Robbed of proper and sufficient food, of leisure for physical and mental development, of fresh air, sunlight, and scenery, of rest itself very often, they are robbed of all that life should afford them!

Now let us ask ourselves as workers whether the present system, so sterile for the proletariat, should continue. Are you content to know that squalid slums should co-exist with palatial country-seats? Do not you feel the stigma of "civilisation" which tolerates starvation amidst plenty, and makes occasional efforts to palliate it by ineffective reforms without ever touching the root cause of it all?

Is it satisfactory that *your* class should continue, in poverty, to produce wealth for others in plenty? and to be wage slaves in "peace" and pawns in the hands of plutocratic and militaristic gamblers in sordid commercial wars?

No, you know it is not! Do you think the exploiting and ruling class care a jot about abolishing this shameless system because of its evils? No; only so far as it pays them will they bring about any measure of alleviation—for making you more content with your chains, and more efficient in their service.

Workers, you alone can free yourselves from your fetters. As a numerically powerful class you must organise class-consciously on both the industrial and the political field for the complete overthrow of the present tyrannical system, and for your own complete emancipation. Your potential power is immense—make it effective by putting it into active operation. Join with us in the Socialist Party to abolish capitalism and establish in its place the only practically constructive system of society—Socialism.

That system alone puts into the hands of the whole community the means of social wealth production, organises it, and controls it democratically, using the co-operative efforts of all to produce for the use and benefit of all.

Thus and thus only can emancipation come.

We ask: "For what are you, as workers, permanently making as a class the 'Supreme Sacrifice' of your lives? And the answer is—for the maintaining of capitalism!—the most sordid, hellish system of slavery known through the ages. Haven't you had about enough of it? Gird up your loins, then, and set about making a 'beautiful, new world' for yourselves, in which there shall be neither dreary drudgery nor grinding poverty, but in which a full and happy existence shall be the birth-right of all.

J. G. M.

A MESSAGE WHICH WILL YET BECOME HISTORIC.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our good will and Socialist fraternity and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

The World for the Workers.

—S.P.G.B. Manifesto, September 1914.

BY THE WAY.

A few days before the House of Commons adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the statement that the falling off in the sale of National War Bonds was due to "pacifist activity." Now if this were true, it would seem to indicate that at last war weariness was taking possession of quite a large section of the public. This, however, is not the real explanation of the falling off in War Loan. Another prominent member of the House, Sir Donald Maclean, speaking at Peebles, said "everything that had happened since the debate on the second reading of the last Military Service Bill had confirmed his view that it was a profound mistake to extend the military age beyond 47. The military value of men above that age was comparatively trivial, but the disturbance and disorganisation of civilian national activities had been incalculable." He then went on to deliver the "knock-out blow to Mr. Bonar Law by adding—

One of its first obvious results was the shrinkage of the weekly contributions to the War Loan. It was useless to attribute that to pacifist propaganda. Tribunal experience convinced him that businesses were in a state of complete uncertainty, and the inevitable tendency was to retention rather than investment."—"Daily News," May 20th, 1918.

So there you are, Bonar. You must really try again.

The question of food rationing which has been so prominently placed before us of late, and the admission of the Food Ministry of the necessity of a certain allowance—to be supplemented in other special cases—in order to keep the workers up to scratch, should not be lost sight of after the war. If a certain amount of food is necessary in war time to enable the wage slave to carry on in the interest of the ruling class, why not in time of peace, too? Think it over.

The condemnation of capitalist society which is passed from time to time by the very supporters of this hellish system, should be sufficient cause for stimulating thought and enquiry by the workers. Time and time again we are informed from capitalist sources of the physical degeneracy of the world's working class. They who produce the wealth of the world, yet exist amidst dismal squalor, are so poorly nourished that our masters' agents are continually informing us that vast numbers of our class are not even fit for cannon fodder. So menacing has this condition become that we find springing up on every hand baby welfare centres, clinics, creches, and pre-natal institutions for pregnant women to ensure them sustenance from charitable sources in order to give them and the future wage slave, and possibly prospective recruit for the armed forces, a better start off in life as, owing to the economic conditions prevailing, so great a slaughter of the innocents has up to present been the order of the day.

In this connection I read that yet another organisation has been brought into existence and is to be known as the "Babies of the Empire." A Dr. Truby King has come from New Zealand to take over the medical directorship of this organisation, and he says—

We shall leave no stone unturned to promote and help the education and practical training of women throughout the whole community in the simple essentials for healthy motherhood and the well being of children. We are aiming not merely at helping to further reduce the infantile mortality in this country, but at raising the standard of health of the survivors."—"Daily News," May 9th, 1918.

From the same item of news I gather the following extremely interesting admission—

The war had revealed in every country an appalling amount of unfitness. The average percentage of men rejected for military service in this war in all belligerent countries had been 50 per cent.

So we see that while the murder of our fellow humans is continuing, those who rule us are endeavouring themselves to eradicate some of

the blemishes from their system. Thus do our enemies confirm the accuracy of our contention that there is nothing inside modern society that is worthy of the support of the working class. Born in poverty, dependent on charity in vast numbers of cases, sent out in tender years to augment the family pittance, and, later, continually tossed on the sea of capitalism to reach ultimately the workhouse—the goal of honest toil so accurately described by the chairman of the Anti-Socialist Union—these are the landmarks of working-class existence. Let us arise, "take up arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them!"

The paltry and utterly contemptible spite of some of our fellow subjects is very well illustrated by the following taken from the "Daily News" (9.2.18):

"Knutsford Council, supported by the rate-payers, has decided to refuse admission to the Public Library to all conscientious objectors allowed out from the local prison, though the right to close a library to any respectable person was questioned."

We have heard quite a lot of chatter during the war period of how those who rule over us are going to improve the unhappy lot of the toiling masses "by and by." Yea, verily, portions of the Press have been pressed into service to discuss such questions as whether the working classes require front parlours and should the kitchen be used as a living room? Now I, for one, would not deny the importance of such momentous questions, and, further, should be delighted to transport myself to, say, some quiet spot with a small house and garden far from the maddening crowd—really a very modest desire. But somehow I fancy that I shall have to remain in my bug walk, and, as hope is cheap, hope that some day others of my class will desire to live as human beings. Having said which I pass on to the following item, which beautifully portrays the delights of working class existence in the 20th century of the Christian era:

The sanitary inspector at Pontardawe, Glamorganshire, reports that a man with his wife and five children sleep in a room 8 ft. by 8 ft.

—"Reynolds's," May 26th, 1918.

I commend this quotation to the purveyors of red herrings who are so glibly talking of how they are really going to improve things "after the war," if only the workers will be good for the duration.

This bright and brief extract from the "Daily News" (22.5.18) has an exquisitely rich flavour—"What did you do in the great war, Father?" "My Son, it took me all my time to see that other people did not do me."

An illustration of spiritual wisdom. Quite recently Dean Inge delivered a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral at which he said "we wanted to get rid of that hateful maxim, 'Do or be done,' as a substitute for 'Do unto others as ye would be done by.'" He then went on to say "What a blessing it would be if no one tried to drive a hard bargain or to cheat his neighbour. Business would be a pleasant way of giving and receiving mutual advantage." ("Daily News," May 20th, 1918). The lack of understanding of commercial morality evinced by the reverend gentleman is enough to make a cat laugh. He entirely fails to grasp the essentials of capitalist anarchy. No, sir, the leopard cannot change his spots nor the Ethiopian his skin, neither can capitalism produce saints or effect the blessings you so ardently desire. The only cure for these anomalies is to remove the antagonisms which exist and place in their stead social effort with social ownership in the necessities of life.

One other item I would mention arising out of the before-mentioned gentleman's sermon. He severely chided his brethren of the cloth. Let me quote: "He did not envy those ministers of religion who were trying to inflame the

hatred, which was clearly beginning to die down, about the belligerents, nor those clerical sycophants who used wild, ignorant language about labour questions. We were servants of the Prince of Peace, and it was our duty to seek peace and ensue it." I trust therefore, that this brotherly admonition will not be lost on those more warlike followers of the lowly Nazarene.

A short time ago there was a patriotic assembly at the Guildhall, the object being to distribute some medals to the Toy Sprouts and Cadet Corps. At this function Sir Robert Baden-Powell saw fit to trot out once again the story of the French Boy Scout who was alleged to have been shot by the Germans. One naturally understands these pious in connection with the scout movement, and also divines the motive of the working up of these atrocity stories. But sad to relate, a writer in the daily Press spoils the little plot. He writes:

But, talking about German outrages, what does Sir R. Baden-Powell mean by reproducing at the Guildhall on Saturday the story of the "little French lad" alleged to have been shot by the Germans for his pro-French sympathies? When this story first made its appearance at the beginning of the war it was pointed out that this particular "horror" depends for its atrocity upon a mistranslation. The German word Französisch does not mean "a little French lad." It means an inhabitant of Alsace-Lorraine who sympathises with the French. "The military execution of this German subject may," as a correspondent remarks, "have been just or unjust. It furnishes no ground for the harrowing story told at the Guildhall."

What is so hard to excuse is the public repetition of this exploded story years after the facts have been fully set out in the Press. The case against the Germans is black enough in all conscience. Why weaken it by telling tales that will bear no examination, and merely give them the opportunity of saying that we are magnificently mendacious scandal mongers?—"Daily News," May 8th, 1918.

Thus do capitalist agents endeavour to fan the spark of hatred into a flame. The story of Sir R. Baden-Powell saw the light once again in several papers a few short weeks ago, but not to the extract given above.

At the moment of writing I have before me two newspaper cuttings. One is headed: "German Gold: Alleged bribery of Lenin and Trotsky by enemy agents." The purport of this newsitem is to prove collaboration between Germany and the Russian revolutionists and is specially dished up for the delectation of English and French readers. The other equally stupid report is headed: "Lord Northcliffe Blamed: Comic German Story of American Gold for Strikers." The story as to the effect that neutral and other agents are being sent to Germany supplied with large sums of money for propaganda purposes and to incite the workmen to sabotage, and so forth. The finishing touch to the story is given by the assertion that Senator Stone, Lord Northcliffe, and Lord Reading belong to the committee. This for the consumption of the German readers. In such ways are the workers of the world goaded on to greater sacrifices. Never was the Marxian slogan more applicable—"Wage workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win."

The attacks which have recently been made on the conscientious objectors at Knutsford and Wakefield serve the very useful purpose of illustrating those qualities which are alleged to be part of the make-up of the Englishman—love of fair-play and of justice. Reports which manage to gain publicity in the Press (and they are few) state that the objectors were very roughly handled, and that "one man was thrown into the canal." Now when the "Germ-Hun" resorts to this kind of procedure large headlines are necessary to enlarge on the offence. In a short editorial dealing with these outrages "and the campaign of calumny directed against the conscientious objectors in connection with them," the "Daily News" (27.5.18) says:

If the conscientious objectors were criminals of the worst description it would still be the plain duty of the Government to protect them from organised outrage of this kind. A misguided conscience may

be a misfortune to a community. Lynch law is a much worse evil.

Those people who disagree with the attitude taken up by the objectors would do their own cause more good were they to order their conduct in this matter on lines less similar to that they are so fond of ascribing to the "Hun."

At a time when we are hearing a great deal about the ill-treatment of prisoners of war, the question of the severity of the regulations applied in British prisons is not inappropriate. Recently there appeared in the Press a letter signed by one Alfred J. Crosfield, Cambridge, and I propose giving a few extracts. Mr. Crosfield writes—

Are your readers aware of the regulations applied in our British prisons to criminals, including in these days not a few whose only offence is that they have refused to violate their conscientious convictions by taking any part in the destruction of their fellow men.

To begin with, on entering upon a term of hard labour there is a period of six weeks during which our criminals may neither write to their loved ones nor receive any letters from them. Then there is the rule of perpetual silence broken only on pain of prolonged imprisonment. If only pencil and paper were allowed life would to many be more tolerable. A recent correspondent dwelt on the senseless folly of punishment given to British prisoners in Germany for looking upwards to enjoy the clouds and sunshine. If one of our prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs is found standing on his stool to get more daylight or a glimpse of trees and sky, he is condemned for the offence to three days on bread and water.

A friend of mine who has served a term of hard labour describes it as "calculated, scientific, soulless cruelty, Prussianism in the true meaning of the term."

More detailed still are the particulars given in Mrs. Hobbhouse's book, "I Appeal unto Caesar," of the blessings conferred upon prisoners in "our" humane institutions. After all the protestations we have heard concerning "enemy" methods it would seem to be a case of "Physician, heal thyself."

THE SCOUT.

THAT "BEAUTIFUL NEW WORLD."

—:—

The Bishop of London has said that "a chaplain has reported to him that all the troops were talking about was the beautiful new world that will follow the war. Soldiers say it is the only thing worth going over the top for. An admiral had told him it was the same in the Navy."

Now, while I don't want to discourage these optimists, I think it would be well that nobody should hold up his sub. to the £1,000 fund on account of these predictions. For, look you, Dr. Vernon, who is a Fellow of Magdalen College and therefore must know, says that "accidents in the main are caused by carelessness and lack of attention, and increase the concentration of the worker on his work, the more will accidents be reduced. One wants to induce in all the workers through all their hours of labour the same mental outlook as exists at present in the night shift workers in the early hours of the morning."

These workers have, for the most part, forgotten the pleasures and excitements indulged in shortly before coming in on the night shift and have nothing but an unexhilarating breakfast and bed to look forward to. The day shift worker, on the other hand, comes to work only half awake, but brightens up gradually during the morning. Still more does he brighten up during the afternoon, as he looks forward to rest and pleasure. This anticipation of pleasure to come leads to lack of attention and carelessness, and consequently to accidents."

Now, this brightening-up business is bad in Dr. Vernon's opinion, and in order to "induce in all the workers the same mental outlook as the night shift workers who have nothing to look forward to but an unexhilarating breakfast and bed," he suggests: "Forbidding talking to one another; plugging the ears, and separating machines by partitions."

Now, right here, we do not think Vernon is sufficiently thorough. Why the ears only? Other plugs might be inserted. A large stopper

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

28 UNION STREET, LONDON, W.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Sun. 4.30

EDMONTON.—D. G. Fincham, Sec., 142 Bulwark-rd., Edmonton, N. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secrv. c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend. HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette Street, Hackney, N.E.

LONDON.—Communications to Sec. S.P.G.B. 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

MANCHESTER.—All communications to Secy., W. Torr, 111 West Park St., Salford. Branch meets Sundays at 3, at the United Garment Workers' Office, 59 New Bridge St., Victoria Station, Cheetham.

MARYLEBONE.—Communications to Sec. at 28 Union St., W. 1.

NOTTINGHAM.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 5 Wellington Ave., Westcliffe-on-Sea.

TOOTING.—All communications to be addressed to Secy., branch rooms. Branch meets at 100 Upper Tooting Rd., alternate Thursdays from August 9th at 8.30 p.m.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badliis-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 456, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 52 Lordship Ln. Branch meets Wed. at 8 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

for instance, might be firmly strapped over the mouth. A small chain, costing very little, might be used to attach the worker to his or her machine. Also a man might walk up and down with a whip and brighten up any worker who, in spite of all these precautions, still showed that lack of attention that is so bad for the work and productive of accidents.

And finally it would be essential to have a notice on the wall warning all that any worker taking his or her plugs out would be fined or instantly unlocked from his machine and dismissed.

The Bishop of London, who, I understand, is not to be plugged (though I am sure people would flock from all parts to see him in a pulpit with a plug in his mouth), says that the Labour Party, has now been enlarged so as to include the brain workers, and even bishops could join. (One fails to see the bishops' qualification for entry from either standpoint.) From this one's imagination runs along to the Labour Party, who so love the advocacy of reforms, standing firmly in the House of Commons for "longer chains for workmen," "smaller plugs," "reduction in the number of organs plugged," "no man to be lashed oftener than once an hour," etc.

Lest I be accused of a lack of seriousness by some people who think Vernon "barmy" and plugs impossible, isn't it a fact that many working men still believe that this same master class that in time of strikes will fight to the limits of brutal bitterness over a farthing an hour, is now generously spending eight millions a day in order to get freedom and justice for US drunken, dissolute, inattentive, at present unplugged, brightening-up working men? Was there ever such a joke? No, on weighing it all up I think you had better spare a trifle from those miraculous wages you are getting to the only party which has consistently opposed the war from the beginning, and will certainly oppose the era of so-called peace that is to follow, which we know will be much more like the old hell on earth than a "beautiful new world."

H. C. G.

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That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—:—

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of near-by branch or at Head Office.

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NOTE OUR NEW ADDRESS—

28 Union Street, London, W.



No. 167. Vol. 14.]

LONDON, JULY, 1918.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE CONSOLATIONS OF ILLUSION.

BALM FOR MATERIALIST BOSOMS.

In those halcyon days, "before the war," it was not uncommon for the criticism to be levelled at the materialistic philosophy of Socialism that it held out no hope for the bereaved. Are there not many of us who, in the critical stage of our development into revolutionists, met some old wiseacre who gravely informed us that when we, rejecting the ordinances and promises of God, were brought face to face with death in the loss of a loved one, the foundations of our creed would slip from beneath our feet, leaving us nothing but black despair? Well! How is it now, comrades, after four years of carnage in which comrades, brethren, and friends have fallen beneath the scythe of the dread reaper—dragged there by the lords of the harvest, our masters? Do we recant under the burden of irreparable loss, or seek to ease our aching hearts by hugging to our breasts the wraith of hope? Or do we not rather fix our eyes more firmly on the real and only goal of our class, Socialism, the substance rather than the shadow of human life? And are we not determined to end the sooner the hellish system which, not content with our ceaseless labour, must also crush out our heart's blood.

The priestly class is well aware of the value of sorrow and especially of the intense form of it associated with bereavement, as a support to their pretensions. The tribulations of "this world" have always been their favourite text on which to base their claims respecting the next. They know that under the stress of intense emotion the logical faculties are not at their best, and they do not hesitate to use this moment as their best opportunity to apply the mental drug in which they trade. Those who lack scientific knowledge almost invariably succumb, but it is otherwise with the Socialist. Educated in the school of working-class experience, he is prepared to face facts, even if they threaten to break his heart. He knows of a courage, born of despair, indeed, so far as this cursed social order is concerned, but of hope for a new one which the lessons he has learned brings to light. For he has ceased to attach a transcendent importance to his own individual interests, as such, or to those of any one individual, and in the prospective triumph of his class (embryo of a new humanity) he is prepared to see even his own "death" swallowed up in victory. He recognises himself as a unit in the human mass, a cell in the social organism. Apart from the terrestrial life process he has no interests at stake. For what are the facts? What do we know of human personality and the possibility of its survival of physical dissolution? From physiological and psychological investigation we know that acts of perception are dependent upon the sensory nerves; that acts of volition are likewise dependent upon the motor nerves; and that the intermediate pro-

cesses of reflection, which embrace memory, imagination, and all that we understand by mind, take place in the main nervous centre, the brain. Honest introspection reveals the fact that all our images and concepts are based on direct physical sensation on the one hand of the outside world, on the other of our own organic composition. The average individual does not pretend to know anything by direct "spiritual" experience of what happened before his material body was born. He recognises the limits of his consciousness in that direction. On what ground does he postulate infinity in the other direction?

No human element of consciousness demands anything but known material elements for its existence. On the other hand, the effects of commonly recognised physical states (such as drunkenness, exhaustion, etc.) on consciousness are inexplicable if the latter is independent of matter.

The various adherents of religious creeds, professional and amateur alike, all offer comfort to the bereaved in the shape of a "hope" of life beyond the grave—an abstraction in exchange for the concrete being we have lost; the spiritual in place of the material; the false for the real.

The extreme bibliolator proclaims "a sure and certain glorious resurrection." He conveniently forgets that the coming of the day of glory was prefigured by Christ to occur during the life-time of some who heard his words (Vide Matt. 16th chap. 27-28 vs., and Luke 9th chap. vs. 27). Generations of faithful Christians who have periodically swallowed Christ's mystic "body and blood" believing in its magic power over death, have rotted into unity with the soil which feeds a myriad new forms of life, and the time which the fervent scribes of the New Testament proclaimed so near at hand recedes ever further into the dim distance of the Church's perspective, or is explained away altogether by its more modern and enlightened pundits.

Then we get the spiritualist who does not rely on resurrection at all, but advocates "direct action" in spiritual matters by the aid of professional mediums. By some curious oversight the disembodied spirit (whom one would imagine from Spiritualist principles to be free from mere material and human trammels) can only manifest himself to those he loves through the agency of one who has acquired the special knack of doing it at so much a time. One's heart may bleed with grief, but unless one can produce the dials there are no "results." No wonder seances are confined to leisured and moneyed circles.

Neither of these main forms of religion offer any solid reality on which to base our hope. Blind faith alone can accept the other world in principle, and only a credulous imagination can supply its details. In rejecting it the Socialist

rejects something which has not a shred of evidence in its favour, and he is quite prepared to risk suffering in an imaginary hell hereafter as a reward for trying to get rid of the very real hell here and now, which certainly rivals the weird conceptions of the author of the Book of Revelation, in the quality of horror.

We neither fear nor love an almighty being who must accept responsibility for our present sufferings. What, then, can we hope for? Must capitalism and its misery endure for ever? Are they the final product of human effort?

By no means! In season and out of season we preach Socialism: the possession by a community of workers the world over, of the things needful for human existence. The end of production for profit; the abolition of slave-jobs and subsistence wages; the end of commercial rivalry and the struggle for political supremacy on the part of rival groups of bosses; the end of the wholesale slaughter of the workers by the machines they themselves produce; the death of blinding superstition and the birth of rational hope; the end of all things capitalistic and the beginning of a real society; the beginning of production for social use, of co-operation for mutual welfare, of universal brotherhood; life, not death!

Show us, if you can, you idealistic praters, a fairer dream than this. Conjure up, if you will, a vision to be "realised" when we are dead and cold. We prefer to live now. If it is natural that we must toil, then we demand nature's reward here, which is joy, not misery.

Fellow workers, what does all this welter of blood and agony mean to us? Will it bring freedom or the continuance of slavery in a worse form than ever? Do you seriously imagine that the profiteers will disgorge and that the chains of servitude will be more golden than before? And if not, what then? Will you be content with the reward that the slaughtered in France have attained? Empty "glory" and barren "honour"!

Tear aside the mask of the "Prince of Peace" and you have grinning death's head! Listen while the bugler draws breath to sound again the call of "Duty!" and you can hear the money-bags chinking! Illusions all! It is for them you fight and toil and die. Is it worth while?

"One moment in annihilations waste
One moment of the well of life to taste—
Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend
Before we too into the dust descend!"

To sang old Omar! And the centuries have not upset his wisdom. Our lives are ours to make them what we will once we rid ourselves of this loathsome bondage. If we sow can we not also reap? The fruits of our toil—may they not be ours? And if so why this slaughter?

Continued on next page.

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ALSATIAN HUMBUGGERY.

THE QUESTION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE, by Jules Duhem. Translated by Mrs. R. Stawell. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The question which is the subject of the book under review is dealt with by M. Duhem with a lofty idealism that regards the people of Alsace-Lorraine as a homogeneous whole. The aspiration to be incorporated in the French nation would appear, from his rendering, to be a common one. For him there is no class division with opposing interests, but only a difference in the ability of certain sections to perceive what is to him the obvious justice of the French claim to the provinces in dispute, and the general improvement that would result to them.

Throughout the work the names Alsace and Lorraine stand for the people of those provinces without distinction of class, a people that resented government by the German capitalists and preserved its loyalty to France, even when France, deeply concerned with colonial expansion, had almost forgotten the existence of "her children" of Alsace-Lorraine.

The desire to be incorporated in the French nation fluctuated. "As those who had passed through the war gradually passed away," says the author, "the idea of retaliation lost ground by degrees, and the memory of the invasion began to fade." Later the people of Alsace-Lorraine watched with "pained surprise" the French schemes for colonial expansion and the consequent neglect of any movement for "restitution." Always it is the people of Alsace-Lorraine, not the capitalists alone.

But not always can the author hide the sordid truth underlying this seeming harmony between the two classes—the working class and the master class. "It was," he says, a terrible trial for the cultivated bourgeoisie of Strasburg and Metz, who had given to France so many statesmen, soldiers and citizens of renown, to submit to the coarseness and pride of German Kreisdirectors and Mayors. The best of them emigrated; in a month Strasburg lost nearly the whole of the intellectual bourgeoisie that had gathered round this famous academic centre. This wholesale emigration deprived the Alsatian people (the working class) of those "best fitted, by reputation, intellectual superiority, and high moral character, to be their guides"—these qualities being necessary "to keep the national spirit alive."

Still later we find the agents of the "cultivated bourgeoisie" engaged in the task of enlightening the dull and apathetic workers and urging them by literature and song to take up the task their masters, that self-same "cultivated bourgeoisie," of "intellectual superiority and high moral character," had so meanly shirked when they emigrated.

"Immediately after the war the defeated nation, painfully conscious of its wounds, spoke of a war of revenge," says M. Duhem, and Germany "preached a more intimate blending of the two strains," which he rejects with scorn, saying: "They spoke as though it were a question of mingling two chemical substances, not understanding that among nations there are moral forces which have their origin in history, and that the law governing these forces is not concerned with the circumstances of modern life."

But the "cultivated bourgeoisie" were not swayed by these moral forces when they emigrated, nor when the pan-Germans, "in order to ruin or absorb other works of the same kind in the neighbourhood, bought over iron mines direct, often with the help of French capital." Or again when France "bought machines for her dockyards at Düsseldorf, the electrical apparatus for her ironclads at Berlin, the red cloth for her soldiers' trousers at Sadwigshafen, the materials for her air-ships from German manufacturers, and the jam for her soldiers from the Knorr Company." The "moral forces that have their origin in history" are apparently suspended when they conflict with capitalist interests, and "the law that governs them" is subservient to the will of the ruling class.

The truth is easily seen, in spite of M.

Duhem's lofty idealism, when we read between his lines. Alsace-Lorraine having been annexed by Germany, the capitalists of those two provinces were compelled to disgorge a share of the booty wrung from the working class. To quote M. Duhem, "Alsace-Lorraine was not one of the States of the Empire, but common land governed in the interests of the confederated States." A small group of capitalists were torn from a larger group with whom they had interests in common, and made subservient to a group still more powerful. The rich lands they owned and the workers they exploited were no longer completely under their control. Government was no longer in their hands; paradise was lost, and they quickly realised that they could only regain it by force.

"Since Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France by force, and kept under the yoke by force, and can never be Germanised even though centuries should be devoted to the task, it can only be recovered by force," says M. Duhem. But the force necessary to throw off the yoke, as we see in the sequel, has not yet been brought to bear, though the workers of many countries have been organised and flung into the conflict. Yet the capitalists of Alsace-Lorraine were not deterred by any such prospects. Their agents were soon at work, "meditating before the silent memorials of ancient Alsace," and worshipping in public her traditions. "While regular campaigns were carried on in the Press explaining to the Alsatian people why they ought to speak French," Art, literature, music, and religion were all enlisted in the movement. The workers were deluged with the slops of patriotism. France was extolled; Germany was anathematised. All the methods and tricks adopted by the bourgeoisie of every country to gull the workers and lead them to fight their masters' battles were resorted to. The workers, not understanding their class position, were easily led to believe that their interest synchronised with those of the Alsatian and French capitalists, and that it was only a duty they owed to themselves that they should oppose German domination.

So it is with the workers the world over, in Alsace-Lorraine, Ireland, Poland, and all the small States that are dominated or threatened by their powerful neighbours. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is a capitalist question, and the workers there or elsewhere cannot benefit by its settlement either way. They are soaked with the philosophy of capitalism from childhood, and when their masters summon them to defend their (the masters') ownership in the means of life, and their right to exploit and govern, appealing to them in the name of a common patriotism, their lack of political knowledge renders them—like clay in the potter's hands—plastic and easily moulded into the designs of their social enemies, the master class. They become the mere pawns in the political game played only between capitalist groups. The poverty they have endured, their years of excessive toil, and all their bitter struggles on the industrial field against the masters are forgotten, when national traditions—the historic camouflage that veils capitalist interests—are spread to snare them.

Alsace-Lorraine has two questions—one for the master class and M. Duhem, the other for the working class. The latter's problem is one with that of the workers of all lands—how to throw off the yoke of capitalism; how to establish a system in which they will no longer be exploited by the capitalists of any nationality. The international Socialist movement is their only hope, as it is ours, because it brings to the workers the knowledge that will enable them to understand the cause of their poverty, and the means by which they can wrest from the hands of the ruling class control of the machinery of government. Until the workers realise their slavery, and seek by this means to end it, who their masters are, or how often they are changed in the general shuffle of a world war, or a commercial crisis, matters nothing to them. For capitalism, differing from all previous forms of slavery, seeks to reduce exploitation to one dead level of intensity everywhere. Its very development, as a system, insures this and demands an ever-progressing degree of efficiency from the workers. It is not, therefore, a change of mas-

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That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

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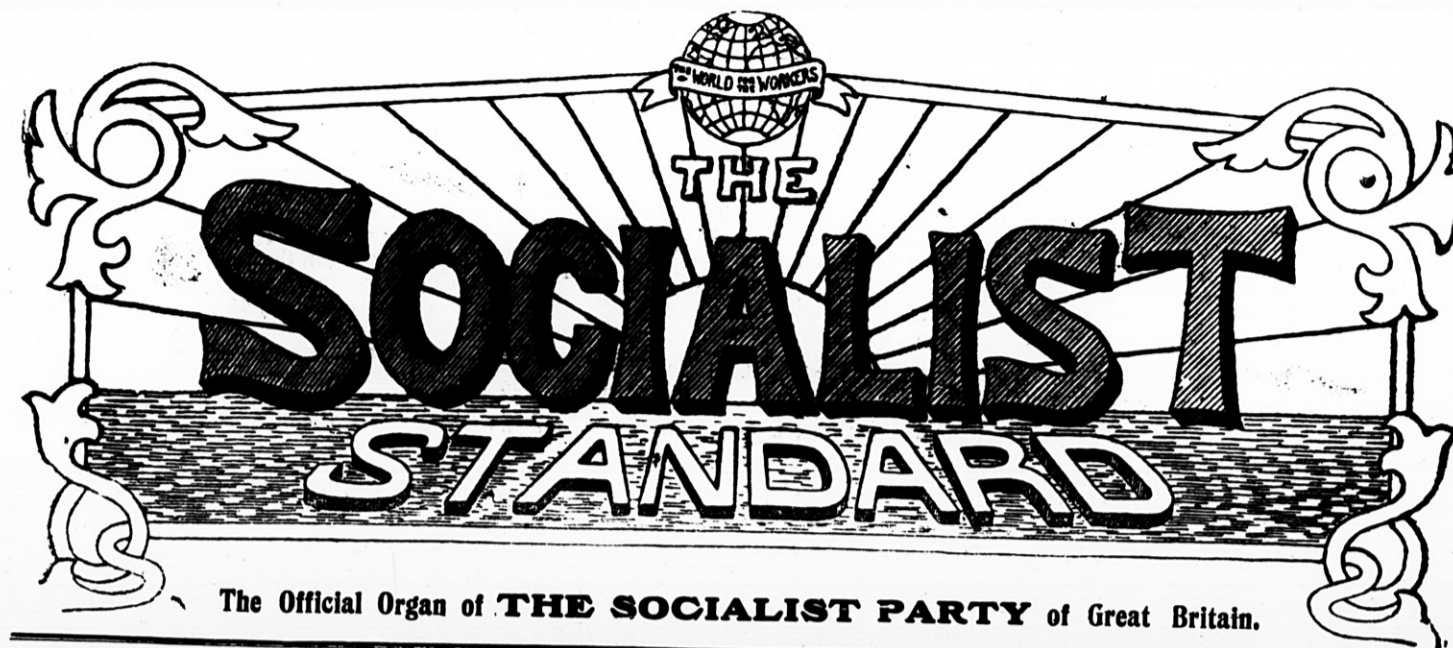
APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

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Those, or rulers, that the workers of Alsace-Lorraine stand in need of, but the establishment of a system of society where they will democratically control the means of life owned in common. They must ignore the purely capitalist question expounded by M. Duhem and acquire the knowledge that will enable them to link up with the international Socialist movement, and take their stand in the greater war for Socialism.

F. F. A.

NOTE OUR NEW ADDRESS—
28 Union Street, London, W. 1.



No. 168. Vol. 14.]

LONDON, AUGUST 1918.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

WHERE IT FAILS.

By far the most important event in the social sense, which has occurred during the world war has been the upheaval in Russia, culminating in the revolution of March and November, 1917. For the working class these events are of supreme interest and worthy of close and deep study, not only for the purpose of keeping in touch with events as they occur, but also for the purpose of learning the lessons these actions may impart.

Just here, however, the working class of Great Britain are faced with a most formidable obstacle in the way of their gaining even a slight knowledge of the happenings, or reaching a position where a full consideration could be given to the facts of the revolution. This obstacle is the Defence of the Realm Act.

By the operations of this Act the master class sift all news coming into the country, by either Press or post, and take care that the only matters allowed to be published are those that suit the interests of this class in one form or another. Thus, quite apart from their ownership of the general Press, they are able to prevent groups or individuals in this country obtaining information that might be useful to the working class. In other words, the only information or statements anyone outside of government circles, can obtain here is just what it suits the master class to allow them to have.

In spite of this simple and glaring fact the I.L.P. have not hesitated to denounce the action of November, usually called the "Bolshevik Revolution," while the S.L.P. has acclaimed it as a great Socialist revolution.

Point is added to these facts by the appearance of two pamphlets written not only by Russians, but by men claiming to be Bolsheviks. Here, if anywhere, one might imagine, will be found useful information, concrete facts, detailed accounts of events, that would be useful in guiding us to a sound judgment.

Unfortunately, nothing whatever is told in either pamphlet, apart from expressions of opinion, except the statements already given in the capitalist Press, which for the reasons given above must be taken with the utmost caution.

The first pamphlet is entitled: "War or Revolution," is written by Leon Trotsky, and is published by the S.L.P. at Glasgow. No date of its writing is given, but from internal evidence it was seemingly written in 1915—before the fall of the Czar—and appears to have been originally published in America.

While claiming to be a Marxist Trotsky appears surprised at the actions of the various sections of the so-called Socialist International in voting war credits and supporting the war. To any serious Marxian student this was only to be expected. The Socialist Party stands firm and solid on the line of the class war. Only here is he impregnable. Only on this basis can the workers organise successfully for the over-

throw of capitalism. For years past the S.P.G.B. alone in this country, and the Marxist groups in other countries, have pointed out that sections from England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, etc., that formed the majority of the International, either had abandoned, or had never taken up, a stand upon the class war, and were therefore really not Socialists in the proper sense of the word. Their actions when the war began and since have simply emphasised the truth of our former case. That it took this world-slaughter to enlighten Trotsky as to the real position of these sections shows how little he had grasped their actual attitude before. He is equally mistaken in his judgment of events in England, for on p. 16 he says:

"In England the Russian Revolution [1905] hastened the growth of independent Socialism."

Quite apart from the fact that the 1905 upheaval in Russia was a capitalist and not a Socialist movement, the statement is absolutely incorrect. A movement that is not independent cannot be Socialist, and the Russian episode had no measurable effect upon either the Labour or the Socialist movement in this country. The real break with the old compromising policy that had saturated the movement in England, took place in 1904—a year before the Russian outbreak—when the Marxists formed up in the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Equally mistaken is Trotsky's statement on the same page that "six or seven years ago [that is six or seven years before 1915] in England, the Labour Party, after separating from the Liberal Party, entered into the closest association with it again." As every student of the history of the Labour Party knows, that party has never been out of the "closest association" with the Liberal Party since the day it was formed. Just as incorrect is the phrase in the concluding section (p. 27) where the author says: "Socialist reformism has actually turned into Socialist imperialism."

Reformism and Imperialism are capitalist, and can by no stretch of terms be called Socialist. Such misuse of the latter word, especially by one claiming to be a Socialist, is a direct assistance to the master class in their endeavours to further confuse the minds of the working class by misrepresentation of various kinds.

The second pamphlet was written by M. Litvinoff in March 1918, but it adds nothing to our knowledge of affairs in Russia, as it simply consists of a selection of the statements that have appeared in the capitalist Press of this country. In some instances these statements are exceedingly useful against agents of the master class like Kerensky, and we have used these admissions ourselves in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* when Kerensky was in power. Some of the other statements are significant in their

bearing on the actions of the workers in Russia in a manner unsuspected by Litvinoff.

One feature of extreme and peculiar importance in these movements is treated by both the above writers in exactly the same manner, i.e., with silence. This feature is the economic and social position of the working class in Russia. For a matter of such paramount importance to be neglected by both writers, shows either a lack of knowledge of the Russian situation or a deliberate attempt to conceal such knowledge from their readers.

As two such Russians are either unable or unwilling to supply this information the only thing left is to take that available before the war and try to apply it to the solution of the present situation. Clearly this can only allow of a provisional judgment while awaiting reliable news of the revolutions and of the present position of the workers in Russia.

Even to-day Russia is largely an agricultural country, some authorities stating that 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in that calling. Their system, however, has certain peculiar features that would take a large volume to describe.

In the main the agricultural population is divided up in village groups or communities largely based on what is called the "Mir." Each peasant is allotted a certain amount of land, depending on the number of his family. The holdings are changed periodically so as to prevent any one individual retaining the best land. If the population increases beyond the limits of the land controlled by the "Mir," a group forms up and moves out to new land in a manner so well described by Julius Faucher in his brilliant essay on "The Russian Agrarian System." As this group is related the old "Mir," communication and intercourse are kept up and a division of a race may have a whole series of villages scattered over a certain area, and having a more or less loose connection with each other. The land, however, is not owned by the village group. In the ultimate it is owned by the Czar in his capacity as "Father of the People" though large numbers of estates have been granted to the Nobles for their military and other services to the Crown.

This ownership, whatever particular form it may take, is admitted by all the "Mir" by the payment of a charge for the land, usually termed a tax. This tax is paid to the Noble where he holds an estate and to the Czar where the latter is personal owner.

Into the developments, complications, abuses and rogues that have resulted from this system we have not the space to go. One illustration can be found in Carl Joubert's "Russia as it really is," and Stepiak in his "Russian Peasantry," has given a masterly

Continued on next page.

the greatest difficulty which capitalist society experiences to-day is a result of the commodity nature of all its products—the problem of the sale of its gigantic output of profit-bearing merchandise.

We see, then, that the social anomalies of capitalism all spring from the fundamental inconsistency between socialised production and anti-social control and appropriation. They are the symptoms of a social disease. Just as the growth of industry at an earlier stage in evolution was fettered by feudalism, so now the forces of production have out-grown the social relations of capitalism; the existence of capital, of the wages system, of class distinctions no longer assists, but fetters and cramps the process of economic development. When feudal society was moving headlong towards its fall the landed nobles became parasitic, useless incumbrances; like them the bourgeoisie have cost their once important social function. The day when they personally superintended the process of production has gone for ever. Increase in wealth and the growth of trusts and combines have transferred this function to employed managers and foremen—to members of the working class. The capitalists are real social parasites, rendering no social service and yet living in ever-greater luxuriousness upon the riches of society.

Capitalism to-day shows every mark of a system ripe for revolution. The longer this is delayed the more terribly chronic become the vicious effects of its internal contradictions. Marx and Engels not only showed that capitalist society was doomed to dissolution, they essayed the equally important task of working out the form of society which would supersede the existing system. Knowing that society could not be re-constructed according to any abstract ideals of social perfection and moral justice, they realised that the form of the post-revolutionary organisation could only be inferred from the analysis made of existing conditions of production, and that only in outline. This position was one of the most important and pronounced departures from the methods of the Utopians.

According, therefore, to the Marxian conception the transformation of the future can and will only be the readaptation of the method of controlling industry and appropriating its products so as to conform to the social nature of the process of production itself, and the only conceivable way of achieving this is by the community taking over the ownership of all the means of production and distribution and using them for the satisfaction of the needs of all its members.

Upon the abolition of capitalist society those contradictions and problems which are its necessary result will disappear also. With the possession of the land, the forces and mechanisms of production vested with the entire community, an idle, proprietary class will no longer exist. The comfort and security of each member of society will then advance in exact ratio to the of the powers of production. A few hours necessary labour daily would provide comfort, security, and leisure for all, thus leaving the opportunity for aesthetic, scientific, and recreational pursuits universally available. The introduction of improved or new machinery which to-day results in intensified toil and poverty for the workers, will then serve either as a means of increasing the wealth and security of the society, or of lessening the expenditure of productive labour. The problem of the over-production of wealth would be unthinkable with social distribution, not private increment, the aim of the productive process. And with the disappearance of commercial and industrial rivalry will go the cause of modern wars among civilised peoples, and thus with the abolition also of class subjection the necessity for armaments and that coercive organisation we call the State. Man will cease to be the victim of economic forces beyond his control, and will consciously mould and develop his industrial powers and social organisation to ever-increasing advantage.

[Socialism and the Classes.

Had the founders of modern Socialism done nothing more than show the desirability and

pressing need for communal ownership and control in production and distribution they would still have been little in advance of the Utopians whom they so severely criticised. But Marx and Engels accomplished more than this: they linked Socialism with the real succession of events in the actual life of the present by showing the manner by which, if the whole teaching of history, combined with existing tendencies, was to be trusted, the Socialist revolution would inevitably be brought to pass. This was, perhaps, their crowning achievement and that which constituted the most striking severance of Marxism from Utopianism.

Reasoning, not only from the history of past revolutionary periods, but also from the facts of society, Marx and Engels concluded and declared that the Socialist movement could never receive support from the capitalist class. To the bourgeoisie, capitalism is the best of all possible systems. Every one of their institutions, political, literary, intellectual, and religious, has for its primary function the preservation of the existing relations of production, the safe-guarding of capitalist property, and the perpetuation of the wages system. The establishment of communist production and distribution necessarily implies the complete obliteration of class distinctions—the abolition of economic privilege and exploitation in every form. The whole history of capitalist society justifies the belief that the bourgeoisie will resist to the uttermost such an assault upon their class position.

But the capitalist class forms only a small section of the community. On the other hand, far more numerous, impoverished, oppressed, with less security of livelihood than a chattel-slave, stand the propertyless mass of wage-workers. This class, even when impregnated with capitalistic ideas, is compelled to recognise in a half-conscious way, that its interests and those of the employing class are distinctly different, and is compelled to engage in a constant struggle to maintain its standard of living against the profit-increasing encroachments of the capitalists. It is from the proletarians, who have nothing to lose but their chains, that any modern revolutionary movement must draw its strength, and it is to this class that the Socialist movement primarily appeals.

This brings us to one of the basic principles of Socialism. We have seen the important part which class-struggles have played in past revolutions; recognising this, the Socialist movement founds itself not only upon an adequate appreciation of existing class antagonisms and their tactical implications, but it relies upon the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class for the achievement of the social revolution. Socialists believe, as the founders of their movement believed, that the proletariat reaching a consciousness of their class interests will act in accordance therewith, dethrone the capitalist class from political power, and with their own hands erect that industrial democracy which will mean to them emancipation from the enslavement of the wages system.

To-day the workers as a class are not revolutionary. For them to become so implies a great mental change. We have seen how successfully bourgeois vehicles of thought, such as the schools and the Press, have given the workers a capitalistic outlook. Is it possible and likely that they will ever be able to throw off these baneful influences and come to a realisation that their interests lie in social revolution? The Socialist answers, yes! The process will doubtless be slow, but there are two powerful agents which further it—economic and social developments and Socialist propaganda. The former is the more important, for the Socialist, unlike those Utopians who worshipped at the shrine of "reason," knows that masses of men have never been moved to effect social changes through mere argument, however logical they may be, unless reinforced by interest, by the sting of outraged feeling. It is experience of the bitter fruits of capitalism that will have the dual effect of undermining the sophistries of capitalist apologists and of imparting to the proletariat a frame of mind conducive to the acceptance of revolutionary ideas. The real function of Socialist propaganda is to clarify and organise the vague anti-capitalist thoughts already present in the minds of discontented

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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workers, by educating them as to the true nature of capitalism and the means of their emancipation, thus giving to the working-class movement an objective which social development demonstrates with ever-increasing vividness to be both desirable and possible. The Socialist movement is thus the highest expression of the working class movement, based as it is upon the clearest and most thorough-going recognition of proletarian interests, and that is why we have stated that Socialism alone provides a real proletarian system of morality.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the SOCIALIST STANDARD through the usual channels should communicate with the Head Office, 28 Union St., W.C., 1., when regular delivery will be arranged.

At present, on the reduced size of our organ, we have a margin of paper available for an increased circulation. Every opportunity should therefore be taken to push its sale.

THE Socialist Standard

The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 169. Vol. 15] LONDON SEPTEMBER 1918. [MONTHLY, ONE PENN.]

THE FIFTIETH TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

There has been a Jubilee at Derby. Fifty years ago the Trades Union Congress was inaugurated at Manchester, and this year celebrated its golden anniversary. How far have the organised workers travelled in their struggles, their views, and their understanding of the position they occupy in society in this stride of time? A brief glance at this year's gathering may help us to answer this question.

In point of numbers the Congress was the largest representation of organised workers in the world, as the affiliated membership totalled over four and a half millions. Compared with 118,367 at its first meeting this looks a splendid advance. But then numbers alone do not necessarily mean progress.

Then take another view. In 1868 the trades unions had not a single member in Parliament; at Derby there were 17 M.P.s., members of trade unions, among the delegates. Even more important in the eyes of the man in the street, real, live Ministers of Government, receiving real, live salaries, were present as delegates of their trade unions. Mr. Clynes, the Minister for Food, was supported by Mr. Roberts, the Minister for Labour, while Mr. Hodge, the Minister for Pensions, certainly added weight, if nothing else, to the Ministerial bench. There were others willing—nay, anxious—to become M.P.s. and Ministers, but the Paper Restriction Order prevents us publishing so long a list.

These M.P.s. and Ministers, however, hold their positions as gifts from the master class, and they have to dance to the tune the masters play. They thus testify rather to the masters' fear of the working class awakening to their slave position than they do to the awakening itself.

If we turn to the matters that should form the real work of such a congress, such as the co-ordi-

nation of the views of its constituent bodies into a sound policy of action for the whole, the solidifying and strengthening of the structure of organisation, and the working out of the adaptation of methods and scope of organisation to meet the changing conditions of production, we find scant time given to these things. There were two resolutions on the agenda dealing with amalgamation and Industrial Unionism that were combined and presented as one composite resolution by a grouping committee. But Industrial Unionism *as such* was not discussed at all, and the phrase was merely used as a peg on which to hang the old quarrel as to which of the existing unions a worker should pay his dues to.

Evolution in the means of production is breaking down the old lines of demarcation between occupations, and the so-called "skilled" unions are endeavouring to maintain their position by trying to draw in the kindred workers. The so-called "unskilled" unions who catered for these kindred workers fight hard to retain them. In these fights the weaker unions appeal to the Congress to curtail the operations of the stronger unions so that the officials of the former may be able to continue their official existence. The "unskilled" unions often carry the fight into the "skilled" unions' camp. Thus the Workers Union, disdaining the silly limitations of either craft or industry, cheerfully grabs up members in any and every occupation, irrespective of whether unions already exist there or not.

In some parts of the country a fight is going on between the Workers Union and the Agricultural Labourers Union as to who should have the right to organise the agricultural labourers. The Gasworkers and General Labourers Union, feeling the effects of this competition, have lately changed their title to "The National Union of General Workers," and follows the same path. While it

was fiercely debated as to whether a clerk should be a docker or an engineman a miner, the important points of the best form of organisation for the workers, and how to reduce the confusion and chaos among the plethora of existing organisations were hardly touched.

Mr. Elvin (Clerk's Union) in seconding the resolution referred to, knocked the bottom out of its "Industrial Unionism" by pointing out that capitalists are organising beyond the "industrial" limit and seeking to control processes from the acquisition of the raw materials to the finishing of the product, and said the workers must organise in line with this development.

Yet two days before he had been fiercely attacking an organisation formed on this basis—the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees—because it cut into the ranks of his own and other craft unions. One of these was the Shop Assistants Union, and it was an interesting sight to see John Turner, one-time Anarchist, pleading for loyalty to the employers in this particular quarrel.

Thus from the standpoint of helping the workers in their struggle with the master class on the economic field, the Trades Union Congress is a farce. The reasons for this are easy to see.

The majority of the trade unions take little, if any, interest in the Congress, and their ignorance of their slave position in society prevents them seeing how this apathy leads to their own injury.

Year after year the same permanent officials attend the Congress and in the vast majority of cases do not even go through the formality of being elected to it by their members, but draw their representation from their official position. This necessarily results in the fixing of the old methods and makes it almost a hopeless task, while such conditions exist, to use the Congress for the benefit of the workers. The old quarrels are maintained, the old intrigues carried on, the old bargaining for offices and endeavours to obtain advertisement are perpetuated. New delegates, especially if they are not officials, are unable to "catch the Speaker's eye" because it is filled with the "hardy perennials" and "big guns."

If the rank and file of the trade unions desire the Congress to become a useful gathering, they must drop their apathy, take an interest in its actions, and, above all, send representatives from their own ranks instead of the case-hardened officials with their dirty tricks and old ambitions, who use the Congress to crawl further into the graces—and the jobs—of the master class. Only by so selecting men from their own ranks, men who have no "official" interests to support, and over whom the membership have complete control, can the organised workers ever get these problems of organisation settled in their own interests, and achieve that unity vital to the successful struggle on the industrial field.

J. FITZGERALD.

BY THE WAY.

—o—o—

The question of the war worker and the fabulous wealth which he gets in return for his labour is a theme which is ever dear to the heart of some writers in the Press, and waxes not old. That there are other people inside capitalist society who also receive fabulous sums and yet never have to function inside office, field, factory, mine, or workshop—the absentee shareholder, and so on—never calls for any comment: it is all part of the "natural order" of things. Then there is another type of person who has come into the light during the war and whose "honorary services" appear to be very lucrative. Concerning these interesting persons a question was asked regarding payments made thereto, and I read that—

Mr. Kellaway yesterday, in answer to a question by Mr. Gilbert in the House of Commons, stated that subsistence allowances were paid to persons on the Headquarters Staff of the Ministry of Munitions for honorary services amounting to £14,460 per annum. These allowances were on the scale of £1 per working or calendar day, and were paid to 41 persons.—"Daily News," 16th, 1918.

One therefore concludes that this measure of gratefulness is to fulfill the prophecy, or saying, of old: "The devil is good to his own."

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In spite of "League of Nations" twaddle and the story that this is the "war to end war," one remains unconvinced. One cause of the present scribe's scepticism is to be found in the Press, which states that the Japanese are reported to have come to the decision to increase their army. The announcement goes on to say that—"The program, when completed, implies an increase of 50 per cent. in the present standing army. . . . The standing army of Japan would then consist of 126 regiments as compared with 84 regiments." ("Daily News," July 9th, 1918.) To remove all doubt and dispel disputation concerning this item of news, the paragraph opens thus: "From an authoritative Japanese source Reuter's Agency learns with regard to the reported decision to increase the Japanese army that the step in question has no connection with the situation arising out of the war."

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A short while ago there appeared in the papers a brief reference to the case of two ex-soldiers who, after having fought for "King and Country," were now finding their habitation in disused pig-sties. The facts were referred to in the Commons, but I will content myself by giving the newspaper announcement on the subject. Here it is—

Two cases of discharged soldiers and their families living in disused wooden pig-sties on vacant land were

reported by an inspector to the Sheffield Corporation. The Committee of the Corporation declares: "That this state of things proves the urgent necessity of providing further housing accommodation, and suggests that the Corporation should provide such accommodation, permanent or temporary, as early as possible."—"Daily News," July 9th, 1918.

When such things happen before the war is terminated one is forced to the conclusion that such untoward events do not auger well for the future. The Sailors' and Soldiers' Federation might more profitably employ their time and energy in studying this and similar questions, and the Socialist way out, which is of paramount importance to them and their class, rather than chasing capitalist will-o'-the-wisps.

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The following observation is extremely candid and well worthy of notice. We have said the same ourselves—but then we are Socialists. Hark! while the canon roars.

Canon Rawnsley, speaking at the annual meeting of the Secondary Schools Association yesterday, said that if there was to be a League of Nations we must begin to prepare for it in the schools. The text-books of history at present in use in all countries were prejudiced against other countries. They gave mere globules of information, and did not tell the consecutive story for which the child mind longed.

"Daily News," July 18th, 1918.

Now the canon will have to mind his p's and q's or he will find himself outranged by DORA. For small mercies we thank him.

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Pressure of space forbids any lengthy reference to the Education discussion which recently took place at Westminster. But one interesting point I must notice. An amendment was accepted providing that a young person up to 16 years of age may secure withdrawal from instruction which is objected to as being contrary or offensive to his religious belief. A hon. member ironically contrasted the attitude of the Government towards conscientious objectors in the schools at 14 and in the Army at 18.

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One of the most general complaints among the workers in the semi-rural districts at the present time is that the German prisoners of war have too much freedom. The way in which they are permitted to walk two or three miles from their quarters to the fields in which they are employed, it seems without any supervision, or to drive farm carts and waggons through country lanes, all on their lonesome, is regarded as a mark of criminal folly on the part of those in authority, as a danger to the peaceable inhabitants of the locality, and as a most unfitting contrast to the treatment of "our boys" who are prisoners in German hands.

This feeling, of course, is deliberately fostered by every Government which is engaged in the war, no matter on which side they may be. Tales of brutality are seized on with avidity, published

broadcast, and made the most of, by each and every belligerent Government, with the two-fold object of inflaming popular passion and making soldiers avoid capture. But occasionally a straw is permitted to flutter across the landscape and show the direction of the wind. One such is the following, taken from the "Daily Chronicle" of Sept. 20th last.

The Rev. Oliver Ayres, Baptist minister, Newport, Isle of Wight, has recently received a letter from his cousin, Pte. Short, a Kettering man, in which he states that he is a prisoner of war in Germany.

He is staying, he says, with an elderly couple on a small dairy farm in view of the Swiss mountains. He writes, "I am very well treated, and have a comfortable bed to lie on. I like my work, and when I get my new suit I shall be the happiest war prisoner in Germany."

This indicates that British prisoners of war in Germany may possibly be the recipients of treatment as humane, as positively kind, as German war prisoners in England.

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Moving among one's fellow workers in the war munitions factory one finds the hope quite freely expressed that the war will not come to an end before "we" have carried the fighting into Germany and "blown German towns to bits and let Fritz have a taste of his own medicine." To such might almost have been addressed portions of the article of the Austrian statesman, Count Czernin, which appeared in the "Neue Freie Presse," and received prominent notice in British newspapers. For instance, the following gets home as well in England as in Austria.

If a soldier who had returned from the front, having experienced the horror of war, were to reject a compromise and demand a fight to a finish, then I should take my hat off to such a man. If, however, a man from the hinterland, a hinterland hero who has never heard the whistle of a bullet, who has hardly felt anything of the war, who lives in comfort while the war goes on—if such a man writes bloodthirsty articles against an understanding, while continually demanding sacrifices from the others, for such an individual I do not feel any sympathy.

While the present scribe, in common with other Socialists, does not feel any particular horror at the idea of the destruction of German—or other—property (such destruction at least has the merit of finding work for workers' hands to do in the matter of replacement), the fact remains that vengeance can only be bought by the expenditure of precious working-class lives, and I ask those "hinterland heroes" who are hungering to administer to Fritz a "dose of his own medicine"—if it is going to cost a hundred thousand British soldiers' lives to "blow German towns to bits" (and it will cost far more than that), is it worth it? Speak up! the answer to that little question is well worth listening to.

THE SCOUT.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, and correspondence submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 28 Union Street, London, W., 1.—to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Read Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free	1s. 6d.
Six " " "	9d.

The Socialist Standard,

SUNDAY, SEP. 1, 1918.

THE SAVIOURS OF RUSSIA.

The hand of the capitalist is slowly but surely revealing itself in Russian affairs. It will be remembered with what haste the capitalist Governments rushed to congratulate their triumphant (as they thought) fellow thieves upon their overthrow of the monarchy. They did not then stop to lecture on the enormity of "internal dissension" in the midst of war. No, they tumbled over each other in their anxiety to deliver their congratulations—because the "victors" were of their own kidney.

They made a mistake, however. In the ultimate it proved to be more than the revolutionary capitalist class in Russia could do, once they had broken the tyrannical organisation which had kept the conscripted forces in subjection, to regain for themselves control of those forces. It was not for the want of trying that they failed. They soon got busy butchering soldiers who refused to go on with the war which they had not made, which they had never wanted, and which they realised could bring them no benefit. So the revolutionary capitalists, who were never for a moment strong enough to establish their authority over the forces and powers of State, were "recognised" and accepted by their fellow capitalists as the "representatives of the Russian people," as the Russian people, as the natural successors, quite as a matter of course, to Bloody Nick and his crew. That they had no power as a Government made no difference.

How different, however, was the conduct of the capitalist Governments toward the Bolsheviks when the latter took the reins from the palsied grasp of the "triumphant bourgeoisie!" Their accredited envoys received only "unofficial recognition, for the purpose of communication." The

London representative was even permitted to be turned out of his office, and the law was strained order to prevent that Russian representative enjoying the use of the premises he was in perfectly legal possession of.

Thus it is seen that from the very commencement the capitalist governments have been bitterly antagonistic to the Bolshevik Government. They have refused to receive their accredited representatives, they have declined to recognise them as a government, they have deprived their ambassadors or envoys (of course, they will quarrel over the terms) of the common means and conveniences for carrying on their work, even to the extent of interrupting their communications.

Nor is this by any means the worst. Fearful that if the Bolshevik enterprise should meet with success it might prove contagious, they have determined to crush it and restore their friends and allies, the Russian capitalists, to dominance. So we have a "league of nations" in being against the Bolshevik Government. Under the plea that they are going to save Russia from the Germans they invade the country at various points. "We come as the friends of Russia," they declare, and disown any intention of interfering with "the internal politics of the country."

But the shallow falsity of all these claims is quite easy to see. No efforts of the Allies in Russia can "save Russia from Germany," for the force which they can send into that country must be expended, not against Germany, but against new enemies the allied invasion must necessarily raise up—the Bolsheviks themselves. Hence the effort of the Allies can only be on the one hand a provocative of further opposition to them, and on the other hand a subtraction from the forces operating in the regions where the question of the German exploitation of Russia really will be decided—in the main theatre of war, the West European front.

As to the claim that they go into Russia as "the friends of Russia," this must be translated into "the friends of Russian capitalists" if it is to have any truth at all. It is only by the continued exploitation of the Russian working class that the Allied capitalists can ever hope to recover the many millions which they have advanced, both before and since the outbreak of the war, to Russia, with the object of strengthening her against Germany. It is only by setting up capitalist domination anew in Eastern Europe, that they can maintain that counterpoise to industrially advancing Germany, that thorn in the side of the double eagle, which is so necessary if they are to retain their place in the world markets. It is only by securing the downfall of the Bolshevik regime, by throwing upon that movement the odium of failure, that they can stave off their own demise, as a class proven to be useless, for any considerable period. These are the reasons which underlie their actions, which bring Allied soldiers to the Murman coast, call

Japanese troops to Eastern Siberia, and turn even Chinese artillery on Bolshevik workmen.

Now with regard to the ludicrous statement that there is no intention of interfering with Russian internal politics. Everyone knows that it is openly admitted that one of the main objects of the Allies in invading Russia is "to save Russia from the Bolsheviks." The capitalist Press has made no secret of it. Capitalist agents, both here and in Russia, have striven for it. In particular one may instance Dr. Harold Williams, when special correspondent to the "Daily Chronicle" in Petrograd, and since his return to this country. His filthy diatribes against the Bolsheviks leave no doubt as to their object—the overthrow of those against whom he inveighed.

What sort of game has been played is unwittingly revealed in an eulogy of Capt. Cromie which appeared in the "Daily Chronicle" on Sept. 14th, wherein, after retailing some of Cromie's activities in favour of the capitalist interests, it is stated that he went to Petrograd and strove to hold the forces of "sanity and reason" together. Needless to say, in the capitalist view, neither sanity nor reason can reside in Bolshevik craniums, and to scheme their overthrow is not interfering in internal politics, of course!

OUR £1,000 FUND PROGRESSES.

How does parson manage these things? He asks Slumton-on-the-Boose for £10,000 for a new church in which to practice the cannibalistic rite of chewing His flesh and drinking His blood, and it is at once forthcoming; we have been cadging the hardest we know how, for fully three months, for £1,000 wherewith to prevent parson and his gang from chewing Your flesh and drinking Your blood, and all the money you have boarded so far is under £200. Gosh! we shall have to get a holy Joe to write these little encouragements. We have more success in the pied piper line, and find it easier far to charm rats than to entice the shy shilling out of your pockets, swelp our Gord we do.

Well, we are not going to make a long drawn-out torture of it this month. We have pointed out your duty pretty plainly. It is up to you to make good if you want Socialism. £188 odd in three months really isn't bad, all things considered—in fact it is distinctly encouraging as showing that there exists a growing appreciation of the revolutionary proposition, and a steadily stiffening determination to achieve it. This by no means alters the fact that you have got to buck up if we are to commence totting up the second thousand pounds with the advent of the new year, and we do, really, truly, absolutely and positively, on our dying, solemn oath, want to do that.

We are compelled to hold over our third list of acknowledgments until our next issue.

SOCIETY AND MORALS.**PART IX.—SOCIALISM, ITS ECONOMIC AND THEORETICAL BASIS.**

Among the many factors which are to-day preparing and disciplining the workers for the revolutionary struggle of the future is the struggle on the industrial field carried on by the organised labour unions. Trade union organisation gathers large numbers of workers together for concerted action and shows the immense superiority of co-operative over individual effort. The struggle promotes the sense of solidarity, which, as "sympathetic" strikes have shown, can transcend, even to-day, immediate and sectional interests. Union meetings being purely working-class gatherings, become centres of discussion, where political, social and economic theories can be thrashed out, and they can therefore become fertile fields for revolutionary propaganda. On the other hand the failure even of "successful" strikes to materially or permanently improve the economic position of the workers will reveal the economic limitations of the economic struggle and will show to the workers the titanic forces they are up against; while the solidarity of their employers in their associations, especially when made manifest, as has recently been done, throughout entire groups of industries, will make the conflict more and more obviously a class struggle. In this latter connection the ready use by the ruling class of the armed forces of the State to defeat the striking workers will be of significance also in showing that the basic power upon which the bourgeoisie relies is in the last resort political.

With the constant application of science to production, not only in the shape of ever more perfect mechanical instruments of production, but also, as has been increasingly done in recent years, in the more efficient management and organisation of the labour process, the exploitation of the workers is correspondingly intensified. In proportion to the total wealth produced, the share produced in wages by the proletariat grows less and less. The rapid growth thus caused in the wealth of the exploiting class, with its concomitant increase in ostentatious display, throws into ever more glaring contrast the gay, luxurious living of the idlers on the one hand, and the drab, monotonous, toiling lives of the working class on the other. At the same time the rise of trusts and of the multi-millionaire has made more obvious than ever the colossal social power wielded by those who control the means of production, whilst (and this applies with ever greater force to industrial concerns under government control) it has also demonstrated to all the absolute

uselessness of the capitalist class in the field of production.

Thus every development makes for a deeper cleavage between the classes, the growth of the antagonism between them, and an intensification of the class struggle. We have already seen how prior to the war there had already been for years a growing volume of proletarian discontent which manifested itself primarily in an unprecedented industrial strife, both in the number and the bitterness of the disputes. The war itself, while temporarily acting as a soporific bringing a lull in the storm of the class struggle, has nevertheless only served to force on those very economic developments which make the struggle increasingly severe. The simplification of processes which has taken place, the "dilution" of "skilled" by "unskilled" labour and the rapid influx into the ranks of the wage-earners of millions of females, while tending towards an increased exploitation, will also make for the breaking down of craft and sex prejudices among the workers and the fuller recognition of the uniformity of their interests.

Now that the age of Imperialism is upon us there will be, as we have previously pointed out, a growing community of interests among the capitalists of each rival national (or quasi-national) group; strikes will more and more be regarded as "national" calamities, no longer the private affairs of individual firms but matters of vital interest to the whole capitalist class. We may therefore expect that forcible suppression will become more frequent and ruthless, and thus the class nature of the State, and the mercilessness of the bourgeoisie will be unmasked.

Among the developments which tend to prepare the worker's mind for revolutionary concepts we may therefore place the ever more glaring contradictions presented by existing society; and the intensification of the antagonism and severity of the conflict between the capitalist class and the working class. But other factors are not without importance.

For the first time in history there exists a working class among which reading is universal. The application of science to industry has led to a widespread knowledge of natural forces among the workers. A growing interest in natural science has stimulated the demand for popular, cheap books upon its several branches. Not only has this scientific popularisation led to a decline in superstition and religious belief, and also to a closer acquaintance with scientific methods of reasoning, but with the growing acuteness of social problems, to a wider interest in social science.

True, this interest is to-day fed on every hand by the apologists of capitalism, advocating manifold schemes of social reform and regeneration. But in so far as these various palliatives are tried and found wanting (as they assuredly will be) leaving the fundamental basis of capitalism untouched, to

that extent will they be discredited in the eyes of the workers.

The growth of huge reformist or pseudo-Socialist parties which has been one of the features of modern politics, while giving little guide to the actual amount of sound Socialist knowledge among the workers who have flocked to them, are certainly a proof of the fact that millions of the world's producers are profoundly dissatisfied with capitalist conditions. Marxian writings are to-day read and discussed wherever capitalism has established itself, and to an ever-increasing extent. In proportion as this influence gains ground will the workers obtain a clear grip of social realities and economic phenomena. As the general level of sociological knowledge is raised the working class will be enabled to take the control of their industrial organisations completely into their own hands, and to dispense with leaders, and thus will be fitted for a more definite and uncompromising attitude toward the employing class. At the same time we may expect, with the growing perception of the futility of palliatives within the structure of capitalism, the increasing acceptance of the true Socialist position and the gradual growth around the nuclei which already exist in most countries, of those political parties which have for their avowed aim the waging of the class struggle to a successful revolutionary conclusion—the expropriation of the capitalist class and the institution of the co-operative commonwealth.

It is evident that this final struggle must be international in its span and primarily political in character. The class struggle between the capitalists and the workers is necessarily as world-wide as is the capitalist system itself. That the bourgeoisie of all nations are prepared to sink their differences in the face of working-class rebellion and to join hands in the work of suppression we have already ample evidence. Recent events in Russia and Finland have brought further proof to that provided by the notorious repression of the Paris Commune. As the consciousness of the proletariat grows and is translated into action we may clearly expect further manifestation of the international solidarity of the capitalists in defence of their mutual interests. Moreover, the international character of modern scientific production demands a correspondingly wide social organisation and therefore the society of the future must be world-embracing and its establishment will mean the obliteration of national divisions.

Apart from the evidence of history the necessity for the political organisation and action of the class-conscious proletariat is shown by the fact that the capitalist class to-day are only able to dominate society because of their control over the political machinery.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie are elected to power by the votes of the politically ignorant workers, and will continue to be so long as this

ignorance remains. Once it is dissipated, however, the workers can just as easily gain control over the complex organisation of government (which is not as the Anarchists think, a mere arbitrarily imposed power, but has grown through centuries of evolution, step by step with economic development, and is firmly rooted in the social and intellectual life) for themselves.

After constituting themselves the ruling class the working class can proceed with the work of socialisation, and of levelling to the ground the old, tottering edifice of class rule and class subjugation. But to speculate on the manner of doing this is to-day futile. Both the tactics of the revolutionary struggle and the actions taken in the event of victory will be determined by the precise conditions which obtain at the time. It is not for us to dictate to, or even to advise, the men of the future. We who live in the present have our own duty to perform—incessant agitation, persistent education, so that we may build up our organisations strong in principle and discipline, without compromise or falter, and armed at every point to withstand the assaults, either open or covert, of the enemy without, or perchance within.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

Sirs,—in your issue for June 1918 your contributor, S.H.S., in an article entitled "The Passing of the Barricade," declares the futility of armed action by the workers, and advocates political action as "the only way to achieve the Social Revolution and establish Socialism." Now in my opinion S.H.S. ends his article just when it becomes most interesting—at the very point where it should begin. Other of your writers do the same sort of thing. For instance, in your journal for April W. L. Wake writes on p. 59, col. 3, "The first step, therefore, towards their overthrow, is to secure political power." In the same issue F.F. writes (p. 64, col. 3.) "they will organise with us to capture the machinery of government . . ." In the issue for May A. E. J. writes (p. 67, col. 3) "For politics are the means which will give them control over the armed forces . . ." And on p. 70, col. 1 J. Fitzgerald writes: "As they do this they will realise the . . . correctness of the teachings of Marx, Morgan, and Engels, and will organise to take control of political power." I want you to note that each of the foregoing quotations is taken from about the end of the article, so that in effect the writer takes the reader along the road only as far as a certain point, labelled "Political Action," and says: "There you are, Mr. Reader, you can go on or stick where you are, just as you like"; after saying which he vanishes into thin air.

Now, let us see where the phrase "political

action" leads to. When you use these words I understand you to infer that when you consider the time ripe and the conditions suitable you will put up candidates to "run" at every election that occurs, who will represent the workers' interest in Parliament. And as each election is fought, so shall we see Socialists sailing merrily into the House of Commons to "collar" those seats.

But do you think that the capitalists or their agents will watch the tide of Socialists in Parliament rise higher and higher, growing ever stronger, whilst they (the capitalists) remain dumb and inactive? I am sure you don't. It would be an insult to your super-intellects to even think it!

Equally I am sure that you are acquainted with political corruption, bribery, intrigue, and so forth. When governments or parties want a majority on their side they trot round offering official posts with fat salaries or "birthday honours" to as many members as will take them. And since bureaucratic government has grown largely recently, the opportunity to offer posts in the various departments has increased enormously.

So that if, at any time, Socialists in Parliament make such powerful, damaging, and brilliant speeches against the Government as to leave them dumb it won't matter, for when voting time comes they can rest assured that their money will do its work.

Now, suppose a general election comes round and the number of Socialists returned to Parliament amounts to 90 per cent. of the whole membership. What then? The capitalists may re-organise Parliament, put it on an entirely new basis to enable them to retain a voting majority. But suppose, no matter how they scheme, wriggle, twist, or turn, that in a very short time they fail utterly. Again, what then?

They have still one card to play. They can close Parliament and say to the workers: "We've got the armed forces, you can go and hang yourselves. If you declare a general strike you'll starve first. If you continue to work but 'go slow' we can send soldiers with bayonets to speed you up. Or if you become troublesome in any way we'll give you an unrestricted diet of bullets, bombs, and gas—and see how you like that! Submit—or be damned!"

So we arrive at the following position of the workers:

Political action is denied them; physical force is futile (because the capitalists control the armed forces); and passive resistance, that is, the strike, means starvation.

Now, I ask you, as guardians of the condensed cream of working-class knowledge, of what use would your "political action" be in such circumstances? Yours sincerely, "S.H.S."

First of all, do you really know what it is you want? Our correspondent "S.H.S." saw that the "march of Time has left behind the barricade and

established the truth of our contention that the working class can only emancipate themselves by capturing the political machinery" and he expressed himself thusly. He did not declare "the futility of armed action by the workers," but the hopelessness of opposing "overturned carts and piled paving stones and sniping from roofs"—the methods of the barricade—to the mighty forces controlled by the capitalists so long as they are in possession of the political machinery. That is one of your misstatements corrected.

As regards your point against E. L. Wake, you very conveniently overlook that the immediately preceding passage to that you quote is: "Since, therefore, the whole of the evil conditions of working-class existence spring from this property condition, the workers must make those things needed for the production and distribution of wealth the common property of society. The defenders of private property having, through their political power, control of the armed forces, use them to support their position." Then follows your quotation: "The first step, therefore, towards their overthrow, is to secure political power." Clearly, in this instance, at all events, it is incorrect to say that "the writer takes the reader along the road only as far as a certain point, labelled 'political action,'" for the political action is plainly indicated as the means to a point further on—a point, indeed, which is the realisation of the object of Socialist organisation—the point of making the means of producing and distributing wealth the common property of society.

Exactly the same remark applies in the case of your quotation of our correspondent "F.F.," for, far from carrying "the reader along the road only as far as a certain point, labelled 'political action,'" and then leaving him to "go on or stick where you are," when he has said that the workers "will organise with us to capture the machinery of government," proceeds to say that they will do this "in order that they may establish a system of society based on the common ownership and democratic control of all the means and instruments of wealth production and distribution—which is Socialism." Your statements, therefore, are incorrect.

We will endeavour to deal with your other points in our next issue. ED. COM.

Readers will observe that, with our customary ingenuity, we have risen superior to the paper difficulty, and once more become an eight page journal. The price is still the same.

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the SOCIALIST STANDARD through the usual annals should communicate with the Head Office, 28 Union Street, W., 1., when regular delivery will be arranged.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

PRUSSIANISM FLOURISHES.

HOW THE HOME CULTURE PROGRESSES.

Everyone is by now familiar with the old gags about "making the world safe for democracy," "crushing Prussian militarism," etc. What some people are wondering is, why, if it is necessary to destroy "Prussianism," it should be considered necessary to emulate it in every particular? If "Prussianism" is the enemy, why has our ruling class such a profound respect for it that they are eager to adopt it? Where is the consistency?

It is here. "Prussianism" is necessary to the existence of the capitalist class all over the world. It exists wherever capital operates. It varies only in degree according to the exigencies of capitalist development. In some countries it is veiled under various cloaks, in others it stands "naked and unashamed." We are asked to believe that this war will end war for ever, that henceforth nations will live in harmony, and the fullest liberty will have a foremost place in the lives of the people.

Let no one believe it. Prussianism is not dead. It is not intended that it should die, for it is one of capitalism's greatest assets. Not only will there not be "freedom for the masses," but the chains will be rivetted still firmer. There is now, and will be, a condition of brutalising slavery the like of which the world has never seen. Groups of capitalists are fighting for their existence. Millions of men, women and children, who do not understand what it is all about, are ruthlessly grabbed and sent to their death, or thrust into degrading toil, all to one end—that the master class shall preserve possession of the wealth stolen from their victims, and at the same time secure larger areas of exploitation.

As these areas are strictly limited to the planet Earth, it means that if one particular group "wins," it is at the expense of another group. Each group wants to be paramount, hence the interminable length of the conflict. It need not be assumed that they hate each other. Their rivalry is purely com-

mercial and is actuated solely by greed. In any case *their* lives are not endangered. On many points they are in common agreement. Two of the most important are—the existence of a docile working class to be exploited, and a system of force. Both are necessary to their existence as a ruling class. If they can beat each other in the struggle for markets well and good. But as for one group abolishing the system of another whilst retaining the same system themselves—their economic interests would not permit it.

This brings me to the proof that "Prussianism" will not only *not* be abolished, but will be extended. Preparations are being made in this country now. The latest device is intended to turn children into soldiers, and this principle is to be adopted in the schools. Opportunities will be provided under the new Education Bill of Mr. H. Fisher. Clause 8 (5) provides that the local educational authority may direct any child to attend any class, whether on the school premises or not, for the purpose of practical or special instruction or demonstration. It is also ordained that all young persons (i.e., up to eighteen) shall attend continuation schools under very heavy penalties, and the local education authority may require the young person, beyond his attendance at the school, to attend "for such other specified part of the day not exceeding two hours, as the authority consider necessary, in order that he may be in a fit mental and bodily condition to receive full benefit from attendance at the school." The use that will be made of these opportunities by the local authorities can be seen from the following extracts from a handbook "Elements of Military Education" issued from the County of Leicester Education Office:

"Bayonet practice. This may be carried out as a physical drill, without bayonet fixed."

"Trench practice. (c) In the second trench

the sack is lying on the far side, as if a man were crawling out. Leap the trench and make a point. (e) Sack lying on ground (wounded man ready to jab upwards). Quick point. (f) Into final trench. Drop butt to ground and seize bayonet to stick into throat at close quarters.

Commenting on the danger which the introduction of the new Bill engenders "The Nation," a bourgeois journal, says: "Teach military discipline under compulsion in English schools, and in two generations you will have produced in England all that we have most detested and ridiculed in the German life and character. You will have produced the worship of uniform, the swaggering officer, the bullying official, the petty regulation, the perpetual inquisition, the government by police, the multitude prone in passive submission. To those conditions our own militarists and bureaucrats are even now bringing us so near that already we are chilled by the breath of that 'cold-hearted monster the State.'"

This is the programme, and the Versailles Conference have set their seal upon it. They are going to "make the world safe"—for capitalism.

LUOLUIS.

BY THE WAY.

0:0

During the last four years of what is termed the "war to make the world safe for democracy," we have been presented with many "keys to victory." All those that have gone before have somehow failed to achieve the desired object, but now this latest "key" is really "it," for no less a personage than Marshal Foch hath spoken the word. "Coal is the key to victory."

Now, as the days are getting shorter, and likewise the atmosphere much cooler, coal is an interesting subject. I pray thee, therefore, tarry awhile with me. In times past we have been regaled by yellow Press journalists shouting in their Press that the mines were full of "slackers" (what a horrid joke to suggest that "slackers" would rush after such tedious and dangerous work) and "comb them all out," and so forth. And so it came to pass in April, after the Allies' reverse, that our "great business government," assisted by all the "great business men" of the country, forthwith proceeded to put the before mentioned "comb" in action. It may be noted here that earlier in the year the coal mining industry had been called upon by Sir Auckland Geddes to provide 50,000 men. Then the oracle from Wales cum-Manchester added that—

The military needs will necessitate the calling up of another 50,000 men from this industry. We are convinced, after entering into the matter very carefully, that these men can be spared without endangering the

essential output of coal for our national industries. —"Daily Chronicle," September 10th, 1918.

It is the same old story of muddle and hustle over again. The experience of the past with regard to the engineers, shipbuilders, munition workers, agricultural workers, and others has not yet taught our "business" government the lesson and the folly of their "all-into-the-Army" campaign.

The announcements of all the belligerents concerning their air raids are couched in similar terms, and with wearying monotony they inform all and sundry that the "objectives" were reached. Strange indeed, is it not, that the following paragraph should find a place in a paper a short time ago.

It is rather curious that while the German official communiques are busy belittling the effect of the air raids on the Rhine-land, the German illustrated papers should be allowed to undo the good work by publishing pictures showing the havoc wrought by the bombs. One of them depicts the wreck of the Provinzial Museum at Treves. It certainly looks as much a ruin as some of the ancient relics in the town.

"Daily News," 28.8.1918.

This achievement can hardly be termed a military objective or a railway junction. To put it mildly, it would approximate to vandalism.

The new cinematograph film of Lloyd George should surely be called "Through Terror to Triumph." A part of it will depict this gentleman as an "objector" to war and military service fighting for liberty during the Boer War, and how he escaped from the Birmingham Town Hall through a surging mob of patriots who were threatening his destruction (some terror, this!), then how he triumphed disguised as a policeman. Yes, audacity wins!

We have time and time again called attention to the parsimony of the ruling class in their treatment of the discharged "heroes" of the war, as likewise their callous indifference to the used-up and discarded wage-slave. While we have conscription of men's lives, voluntary subscriptions, or what is termed in the vernacular as passing the hat round, are good enough to meet the claims of those who have been battered and bruised in the masters' service.

There is now established an old boots and clothes depot to equip these saviours of the empire ere they return to the home battle-front—the office or the factory. The announcement informs me that

Y.M.C.A. National Council appeals for clothes or boots for men discharged from the services who are seeking employment. When the men are discharged they are provided with a suit of mufti, or given a sum in cash, by the War Office. Frequently, however, the first suit is worn out, and many men applying to the Y.M.C.A. for work or help cannot start on new employ-

ment, even when it has been found, because of their shabby appearance. The Y.M.C.A. re-equips such men, and they are able to face life with renewed hope.

Those who cannot send clothing are invited to send donations. For 6s. a very serviceable pair of repaired old army boots can be bought. Dress suits are required for men anxious to become waiters, but all kinds of clothes will be welcome.

"Daily News," August 24th, 1918.

Almost at the same time John Hodge, the Minister of Pensions, launches his cadging appeal for helping discharged and disabled sailors and soldiers. The fund is to be "the symbol of a nation's gratitude." And we are informed that "no system of State aid could ever meet the varying requirements of thousands of disabled officers and men." Think of it, ye valiant warriors, your needs are to be met by an appeal to the alms-giving public, for "no system of State aid could ever meet the varying requirements." By a stroke of the pen Dora's help can be invoked when the interest of the ruling class is threatened, but not so when it should be a case of generous treatment of those who have "offered all in the fight for honour, home and liberty." The State can find money and pour it forth like water when death-dealing instruments and the other paraphernalia of war are required: the restoration to health, the training of the blind, and kindred matters can be left to haphazard charity. Think it over!

It is a treat these days to read the speeches of those red-herring merchants, the Labour ministers. Just recently Mr. G. H. Roberts was speaking on reconstruction after the war, and he went on to say that "we shall not tolerate any haphazard dealings with the problem of reconstruction. I should prefer to retain these splendid fellows in the army much longer than they themselves think necessary rather than they should be released in a haphazard fashion simply to swell the ranks of the unemployed. We are going to release these men only when we have a reasonable assurance that industry is capable of absorbing them and that they can be permanently resettled in civil life." (Daily News, 9.9.1918.) Now this in itself is a tall order, for signs are not wanting already that industry is not yet capable of absorbing these "splendid fellows." In case there should be any doubting Thomas's, let me here interpose an observation of John Hodge, another Labour minister, who is advocating "compulsion" for what he terms "skunk employers." He says: "The employer with a big heart and mind would willingly take back all the men he had promised to find jobs for, but the mean man, who was always after money, would shirk his responsibility. He thought, therefore, that for the protection of the good employer it was necessary that the 'skunk' should be compelled to toe the line and do his duty." (Daily News, 27.8.1918.) Presumably, therefore, I imagine that at this moment there are quite a number of men who have not yet been "permanently resettled in civil life."

In the same speech of friend Roberts there is another interesting item, namely, "that employment should be given by preference to the married as against the single men, and to the volunteers as against conscripts." So there you are, my lads, when you go to some other "lordly fellow worm" and ask his leave to toil, a kind of shorter catechism will take place, when the "superior" one will ask: "What did you do in the great war, sonny?" The applicant might afterwards ask such a one what HE did? and whether he fought and bled, or only held the other fellow's coat while he got on with the business. A very pertinent question this. Why not?

There seems to be no ending to the tosh trotted out by these Jacks-in-office. This brainy one from Norwich is perturbed about the horrors of the class war. He says:

There are some who want to get rid of this military war in order to embark on what they designate as a class war.

If military war is simply to give way to class war or industrial strife, our recovery from this war will be rendered almost impossible, and it will affect not one class of the whole community, but particularly the working class.

Does Mr. Roberts mean to suggest that he is not aware that inside society as at present constituted there are two classes, namely, a capitalist or master class who owns the means of wealth production; and a working class who operate those tools of production by whose labour alone wealth is produced? That, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle. Despite the fact that Mr. Roberts puts the telescope to the blind eye and exclaims that he does not see these two opposing forces, the truth is that his paymasters realise them. Why the sudden appeal, late in the day, by a section of the master class to their friends for a more "humane treatment" of their wage-slaves, "better houses" for them to live in, and an opportunity for a "fuller life"? These are signs of an awakening of the working class and the desire of the master class to stave off the day of reckoning a little longer by disgorging a portion of their ill-gotten gains.

THE SCOUT.

A Dance will be held in the Devonshire Hall, Devonshire Road, Mare Street, Hackney, on Sunday, October 27, 1918, commencing at 6.30 p.m. Doors open at 6 o'clock. Proceeds to go to the £1,000 Fund.

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the SOCIALIST STANDARD through the usual channels should communicate with the Head Office, 28 Union Street, W., 1., when regular delivery will be arranged.

actually practised by masses of men in each social epoch. This method of treating the subject, however, does not suit those whose view of history is idealistic. To them morality is the cause, not the result, of social conditions. This position is very common indeed. The Socialist is, for instance, frequently informed that, to achieve his aim, he must first "moralise the people," make them all "loving brothers," and so on. Very often, indeed, he is told that the Socialist aim is impossible because such "moral perfection," as it presupposes, is incompatible with human nature. In this way also has arisen the absurd misconception that Socialism is a scheme for reforming the morality of individuals in the direction of altruism, with a view to establishing a perfect system of society. Most of the so-called "Christian" Socialists take up this attitude, and by so doing proclaim themselves in reality anti-Socialists.

The generally accepted non-scientific conception of morality and immorality regards these as not in any direct way connected with social utility or material interests, but simply as the conforming to or deviation of conduct from certain "principles" which are independent of forms of society, common to all periods of history, of universal application and unalterable. Briefly, morality is considered not as a relative thing dependent upon certain temporary conditions, but as something absolute and eternal. "Truth," "Liberty," "Brotherhood" and "Justice" are some of the abstract principles in question.

A study of history, however, demonstrates that, although several of these conceptions are themselves very persistent and of great antiquity, the actual concrete expression of them, the real meaning attached to the terms has varied according to the changes in social needs. Thus, amongst the rudest barbarians, "brotherhood" has a very real significance, but one vastly different, in many respects, from its modern meaning. It denoted loyalty to the tribe (a very small community judged by modern standards), reverence for the tribal gods and ancestors, as well as strict observance of the customs of the tribe, both social and religious. Its practice, moreover, entailed antagonism, and often absolute ferocity, towards those outside the community.

So with the bourgeois conception of "freedom" which, on its positive side, meant freedom of production, of trade, of emigration, of property rights and of exploitation, and on its negative, the abolition of patriarchal and feudal ties and obligations.

Owing to his conviction, based upon an understanding of social evolution, that moral systems are generated by, and can only be explained in relation to, social institutions, the Socialist cannot agree with those "advanced ethicists" who, accepting a standard of so-called "humanitarian" ethics, condemn all things, past and present, which cause or have caused pain or misery. These people ignore the findings of biologic and social science. To condemn

cannibalism, torture, robbery, slavery, war, etc. off-hand without regard for the conditions which gave rise to them is, the Socialist sees, as foolish as it is futile. These practices have all been inevitable and relatively useful in their time and place, and so long as these conditions were maintained they were moral. They gradually came to be regarded as immoral only after the circumstances which necessitated them had passed away and such habits had become ill-adapted to the ways of living and institutions newly evolved.

Morality and Revolutions.

Although it is true that conceptions of justice and injustice, good and evil, have never formed the basis of revolutions, which is always to be found in that external world from which the ideas underlying revolutionary activity are mainly drawn, yet moral notions have certainly been powerful factors in the concentration of that class power which enacted the fiat of economic development. While the time, place and character of the revolutionary current was always determined by objective economic conditions, it was through the effect of these conditions upon the perceptions of men, rousing the emotional impulses which promoted them to action that the social revolution was transferred from the potential to the actual.

But in the past, revolutionary convictions have at the best been based upon only a superficial knowledge of economic circumstances and their social requirements. Consequently much energy was wasted and its efficiency impaired by hopeless strivings after ideals which were impossible of realization. Over-reaching the practicable the movements were rudely checked and dragged back by the hard facts of economic reality.

The Socialist movement, however, lives in the "age of Science," and, to this extent, has an enormous advantage over its predecessors. Firstly, the Socialist movement must be disciplined by sound knowledge; given this, the greater the feeling put into it the better; in the absence of scientific principles, however, the success of the movement will be gravely imperilled. Nevertheless, it is certain that the power of the movement and, therefore, its capacity to attain its end, will in large measure be determined by the degree to which it develops among its adherents a consistent moral code, based upon Marxian principles, and into which is infused those powerful impulses—the social instincts.

The Practice of Social Morality.

It will be evident from what has been said before that the Socialist's opposition to the bourgeoisie and the capitalistic system for which they stand, by no means springs simply from a recognition of the misery, slavery and degradation which capitalism entails, though being human and not mere automata of logic, Socialists are naturally strongly influenced by such facts. They know, however, that capitalism has been a necessary and useful

stage in the evolution of human society. It is because the system is neither of these to-day, because it can be shown that the functioning of wealth as capital is now a hindrance to economic and therefore to social and intellectual progress, that the Socialist regards capitalism as an obsolete and evil institution.

If the Socialist holds exploitation and class oppression to be morally wrong, it is because, for the first time in history since the formation of class divisions away in the remote past, the material means are now available wherewith these, together with all their consequences, may be eliminated from human institutions. It is because this latest existing phase of class society, capitalism, is the great obstacle, holding mankind back, so to speak, on the very threshold of a new and splendid era manifesting untold developments in the material, social and mental triumphs of the race, that the Socialist holds this system and all the agencies which uphold or tend to perpetuate it, in hatred and abomination. The Socialist guides his own conduct according to this principle, abstaining from all actions, except such as are unavoidable, which in any way support the capitalist system, and he judges the behaviour of fellow Socialists by the same standard.

But, above almost all else, the Socialist ethic is proletarian. The welfare of the working-class is the concern of every Socialist—their interests are his interests. Every effort of the workers to resist the predatory profit-hunger of the capitalists, and their strivings towards greater economic security, has his sympathy and support. For all that, the Socialist does not fail to criticise the ideas, organisations and activities of his class whenever he considers it necessary, for he sees that only too often these are based upon bourgeois conceptions, and betray an almost complete ignorance of social science, the structure of capitalism, and the facts of the class-struggle.

This ignorance of the bulk of the workers regarding social matters is the greatest barrier in the way of their emancipation, and to assist in its dissipation the Socialist considers his first and most important duty. Among the workers he strives to undermine those bourgeois "virtues" humility and reverence for constituted authority and tradition—by preaching self-assertion, independence of thought, and irreverence for tradition and the "powers that be." He sees the paralysing effect of apathetic contentment upon the minds of the proletarians, and endeavours to instil among them that slave virtue, discontent—discontent with slavery, with exploitation, and with poverty, with every social evil which it can be proved possible to abolish. Against the beguiling ethic of "universal goodwill" and "brotherhood," the Socialist urges upon the working-class, suspicion, opposition, and hatred for their inveterate enemies—the capitalist-class.

Incessant educational work, spreading amongst the workers a knowledge of social development and

the economic basis of capitalism, is the pressing need of the moment. This work of agitation the Socialist regards as an imperative duty. It is, moreover, his duty to make himself a fit propagandist. His code of morals embodies and insists upon the necessity of study and self-education, wherever possible. A Socialist who neglects to do this is hardly worthy of the name.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

OUR £1,000 FUND PROGRESSES.

Our £1,000 Fund progresses very slowly. The following list of subscriptions was unavoidably crowded out of our last issue, and last month's list has not arrived in time for insertion in this issue. Now, comrades and fellow-members of the working-class, to attain our object, viz., £1,000 by the end of the year, or before, you must do better than this. With the general election looming in the distance, £1,000 won't bring us very far along the road towards the object we have in view.

ERRATA.—In July List. J. Fitzgerald £2 10 0 should read, J. Fitzgerald, £1; R. W. Gardiner, £1; A. Ryan, 10s. Total, £2 10 0.

In August List. Collected Sheet 162, R. Collins should read, S. Beaumont, 1s.; Collins, 2s. 6d.; Wellwisher, 1s.; Sympathiser, 2s. 6d.; H. Rudol, 1s.; Anon, 1s.; Sympathiser, 2s.; Do., 1s.; Do., 1s.; Swiss Sub., 2s. 6d.; Total, 15s. 6d.

Amount previously acknowledged	£144 17 7
Collected, Sheet 61, per Foan (Battersea)	1 18 0
" " 62 " Chexfield "	1 18 0
" " 60 " Maby "	1 6 6
" " 68 " Stuart "	8 6
" " 100 " N.S. (East London)	1 5 6
" " 130 " Fairbrother (Central)	1 0 0
" " 12 " Todd (Central), A.M.T.,	
4s.; F.B., 3s.; The Scout, 3s.	10 0
Collected, Sheet 47, " Wallis (Tooting)	10 6
" " 136, " Curson "	14 3
" " 131, " Goodwin "	1 6
Collected, Sheet 103, per Fincham (Edmonton)	1 0 0
" " 35, " Ross "	10 0
" " 104, " Kenny "	10 0
Collected, Sheet 195, per A. A. (Edmonton) D.	
Macgregor, 5s.; Comrade W. C. B., 1s.; S.	
Auty, 2s. 6d.; T. B., 2s.	1 8 6
Collected Fulham and Chelsea: E. J. S., 4s.;	
D., Sen, 2s.; Molly, 1s.; J. W., 2s. 6d.; C. D.,	
1s.; W. L., 9s. 4d.; J. W., Sen., 2s.; A. T.,	
3s.; A. E. P., 2s. 6d.; Soldier, 2d.; H. W. M.,	
2s. 6d.	1 10 0
Collected, Sheet 23, per Webb (Walthamstow)	1 4 0
" " 3, " C. M. (Wood Green)	4 0
" " 165, " H. C. G. (Acton), D. E. H.,	
9s.; J. K., 4s. 6d.; E. W., 2s. 6d.; W. B., 18s.;	
K. G., 4s. 6d.; C. M., 9s.; E. F., 1s.; W. W., 1s.;	
A. P., 9s.	2 18 6
Collected, Sheet 81, per Adams (West Ham)	4 6
" " 34, " Bates (Tottenham), G. B.,	
10s.; F. C. W. L., 2s.; E. Lamprey, 4s.; W.	
Kingnorth, 2s. 6d.; Geo. Ayres, 2s. 6d.; Geo.	
H. Miller, 2s. 6d.; T. Brown, 2s. 6d.; F. G.,	
2s. 6d.	1 8 6
Collected, per Tottenham Branch: W. A. Stroud,	
£1; J. H., 5s.; H. N., 2s. 6d.; H. W., 2s. 6d.;	

S. S., 1s.; Mac, 6d.	-	-	-	1	11	6
Collected, Sheet 124, per Tottenham: F. P. Gibbs,						
5s.; Three Railway Sympathisers, 3s.; Mrs.						
Pallin, 2s.; Staplehurst, 1s.; F. J. Webb, 5s.;						
S. H. S., 2s. 6d.; W. S., 5s.	-	-	-	1	3	6
A Few Comrades "Out of Action"	-	-	-	1	10	0
Two Materialists	-	-	-	1	10	0
M. A. B. (Fulham)	-	-	-	1	5	0
Geo. H. Miller	-	-	-	2	0	0
A Few Railway Slaves, per Footplate	-	-	-	1	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. Mills, 5s.; Ted Morris, 15s. (Southsea)	1	0	0			
L. S. and A. S. (Nottingham), 8s. each	-	-	-	16	0	
A. C. Clapham (Enfield)	-	-	-	7	6	
J. Mc. Gowan	-	-	-	6	0	
A. M. and W. L. B. (Manchester), E. Lechmere						
(Ealing), Pollard (Exeter), E. R. Hardcastle						
(S. Wales), H. Spooner (Southend), E. Knight						
(Wakefield), H. K. J. B. G. W. C. (Watford),						
5s. each	-	-	-	2	0	0
M. C. (Dublin), 5s.; L. M. (Dublin), 7s.	-	-	-	6	0	
A. Goldsmith (Hanwell), 2s. 6d.; G. C. G.						
(Gunneryby), 2s. 6d.	-	-	-	5	0	
The Major, 2s. 6d.; F. Goodfellow, 3s.; G.						
Blunt, 2s.	-	-	-	7	6	
J. Letterick, R. Hamilton, and Jas. Figgins						
(Glasgow), 1s. each	-	-	-	3	0	
Total	-	-	-	£180	19	4

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Here's an item for you to make a note of—and don't forget it.

A DANCE will be held in the Devonshire Hall, Devonshire Road, Mare Street, Hackney on Sunday, 20th October. Commence at 6.30, doors open at 7 o.c. Proceeds to go to the £1,000 Fund.

Will readers and comrades who have any spare copies of the back numbers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD detailed below kindly send same to the Head Office, 23, Union Street, London, W1, as they are required for orders for bound volumes.

Vol.	Year.	Month and Serial No.
1	1904	Sept. (1), Oct. (2), Dec. (4).
1	1905	Jan. (5) Feb. (6).
2	1906	Jan. (17), Mar. (19), May (21).
3	1906	Sept. (25), Oct. (26).
3	1907	July (45), Aug. (36).
4	1907	Nov. (39), Dec. (40).
4	1908	Jan. (41).
5	1908	Oct. (50), Nov. (51).
6	1910	Feb. (66).
11	1914	Sept. (121), Oct. (122), Nov. (123), Dec. (124).
12	1915	Jan. (125), Feb. (126), Mar. (127), April (128), May (129), June (130), July (131), Aug. (132).
12	1916	May (141).
13	1917	Jan. (142), April (152).

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

THE Socialist Standard

The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 171. VOL. 15.] LONDON NOVEMBER 1918 [MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

"WE MUST PRODUCE CHEAPER."

THE NEW "PATRIOTIC" STUNT.

To-day, the subject of greatest interest and importance to our masters, next to the successful prosecution of the war, is how to increase production—how to reach the maximum of wealth output with the smallest possible expenditure in wages.

Much has been done during the war, by dilution and the abolition of privileges, toward this end, but the capitalist looks forward to the piping times of peace, when the supply of labour-power will exceed the demand, for a fuller realisation of his avaricious dreams.

The question as to how it will affect the workers does not concern him; first, because he is a capitalist and therefore only interested in profits, and secondly because he keeps an army of unscrupulous journalists whose business it is to persuade the workers that whatever is beneficial to the class that own the means of wealth production, must be beneficial to society as a whole, and therefore to the working class.

To prove, however, that an increase in production, side by side with a reduced wages bill, will improve conditions for the working class, would seem an impossible task; nevertheless, the economic quack, relying on the workers' ignorance of economics, proceeds to demonstrate it. One writer who advocates shorter hours of labour as a means to increased production says that after the war—

We shall need the greatest possible output and the most economical production, consistent with health, to enable us to get the most trade and re-establish our position and profitably employ all our people.

Other writers lay even greater stress on the last suggestion, claiming that industry is run by the capitalists as much to give employment as to obtain profits. Hence we find an economic quack measuring a capitalist's usefulness to society by the number of "hands" he employs.

It is perfectly true that the capitalists of every

concern have a keen desire to employ more and more workers, but there is a proviso—markets must be assured in order that the surplus-value produced by the additional workers can be realised in profits on the same scale. For that reason only, and only in that sense, is the capitalist interested in giving employment to the workers (ignoring, of course, for the moment, his inborn antipathy to work himself). He employs the workers when by doing so he obtains profits. In the past, when new machines and methods have enabled him to increase output while at the same time reducing the number of his workers, he has never objected on the score that unemployment would be intensified. Neither has he hesitated to advertise extensively among the nations of the earth for workers with which to flood the labour market, long before the wage-slaves who were "his own countrymen" were absorbed. In short, the record of the capitalist class speaks for itself. Ever since the days when our peasant forefathers were driven off the land in order that they might be available for the forerunners of the modern capitalists in the towns, up to the present day, it has been one of the chief concerns of our masters to have a substantial margin of unemployed, and for two reasons. First, to keep down wages, and second, to be called upon in case of a sudden expansion in trade.

There is another side to the question, however. The capitalists of every land want "the greatest possible output, the most economical production, and the most trade." They know that the world market is limited, that within a certain period, say one year, the world's population can only absorb a limited amount of wealth, and that goods or wealth produced beyond this amount will be left on the owners' hands. The same applies to those goods whose owners, for some reason, fail to place them on the market at the prices ruling there. Hence

the need for the most economical production, in other words, for the maximum of labour-power in exchange for a minimum wage. "Consistent with health" is capitalist irony, because the workers' health is never studied except for the purpose of increasing their productive power.

The other side peeps out in the sentence "to enable us to get the most trade." The workers of each country must submit to "the most economical production" in order to assure to their masters "the most trade." Thus they enter into a new form of warfare against the workers of other countries in the interests of their masters. And when the capitalists of one nation succeed in obtaining the "most trade," and their workers demand higher wages, because the masters can afford to pay them, these same masters reward them with the sack, and entice the workers of other lands to fill their jobs. Where, then, do the workers of the world come in, whether they win for their masters markets or wars?

The capitalist group of every nation will point to their own prosperity as evidence that employment is good, when they deem it necessary to gloss over the unemployed army—that instrument of coercion against their workers. They boast that there is no sentiment in business, and an unemployed army is necessary to their business. In the past they have—except in a few rare instances, chiefly occupational—always been blessed with a solid margin; the future is full of promise for them, and we can rely on them to make the most of their opportunities in order to coerce the workers into the economic war.

Already in the mad race for markets we are told that—

The old slack methods have given way to something approaching American hustle. Supervision is more strict, rest times have been reduced, furnaces are bigger and hotter, machines run faster, tools and appliances are heavier and need more strength and nerve for their manipulation, shops are more noisy and crowded, dusty and hot, materials are harder to work, labour is more fatiguing and hazardous.

But, like everything parasitic, the capitalist is insatiable. The concerns in which his capital is invested must either beat their competitors in the race for cheaper production or go under. And concerns do go under almost daily, their share of the market being taken up by their competitors, while the workers they have employed swell the unemployed army until they can be "profitably employed" by other capitalists.

Capitalist governments have for years made promises to deal with unemployment—they have even made pretence of doing something—but the evil has grown. One government gave us Labour Exchange;—to find jobs for the unemployed, they said—but all these institutions did was to save the capitalist time and money in his search for the workers he needed. The latest suggestion is that

hours of labour should be reduced, but those who advance it claim that a reduction in hours would result in greater production. Coming from those who plead that the workers should be more fully employed, this suggestion is a curiosity in logic.

But the richest contribution to the whole discussion has been made by the "Committee on Adult Education." They say:

Industry exists for man, and not man for industry. The world seems to have been carried on in the opposite principle, and it will be no easy task to alter it.

Rich in irony is this utterance when we get behind the camouflage of assumed innocence, for the committee know that industry is run for their class, that they, as a class, own the nature-given material of the earth, that the dispossessed workers of the world, owning nothing but their energy, are forced by hunger to sell even that as a commodity. They know that the factory with its raw material and machinery absorbs the commodity labour-power, and out of the union comes surplus-value to be realised in profits. To them the working-class is god-given—a class to work for them while they luxuriate in idleness.

Industry will only exist for man when man controls industry. To-day the workers cannot control industry because the means of wealth-production are owned by the capitalist class, and their ownership is defended, through their Parliament, by armed forces.

Until the working-class control industry, industry will exist for the capitalist class, as it exists to-day. And the working-class can only control industry when they own the means of wealth-production. Ownership of the means of wealth-production is the basis of capitalist domination; their ownership, however, is maintained politically, and until their political power is broken, or acquired by the working-class, the latter cannot take possession of the means of wealth-production. Before industry—or production and distribution—can exist for man, therefore, the working-class must organise as a Socialist Party; second, secure control of the political machine; third, take possession of the means of wealth-production; and fourth, establish society on a Socialist basis by arranging for the democratic control of production and distribution by the whole of the people. F. F.

A Branch of the Party has been formed in the North-west London District. All communications to be addressed in the first instance to the General Secretary at Head Office, 28, Union Street, London, W.1.

Readers who find it difficult or impossible to obtain the SOCIALIST STANDARD through the usual channels should communicate with the Head Office, 28 Union Street, W., 1., when regular delivery will be arranged.

BY THE WAY.

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Mr. Lld. George in his Manchester speech once again crossed the t's and dotted the i's of the Socialist propagandist. It was in dealing with the lessons of the war that the Prime Minister told his hearers that "the State must take a more constant and more intelligent interest in the health and fitness of the people." Why this interest was to be manifested was in order to maintain the Empire, and because the war and the need for fighters had shown what a pitiable caricature capitalist society had reduced its wage slaves to. The speaker went on to say—

I asked the Minister of National Service how many more men could we have put into the fighting ranks if the health of the country had been properly looked after. I staggered at the reply. It was a considered reply. It was, "At least one million." . . . Here we are combing out the essential industries . . . and yet you had a million men who, if the State had taken proper care of the fitness of the people, would have been available for the war. . . . I solemnly warn my fellow-countrymen that you cannot maintain an *Ar* Empire with a *C3* population. Unless this lesson is learned war is vain.—"Daily News," Sept. 13th, 1918.

Now, I submit that this is a pretty strong indictment of capitalism. Strange, is it not, that it should require a world war to bring home to our rulers the truth of our contention of the indifference, even to the point of callousness, in the treatment meted out to the workers in the piping times of peace by the master class? Mate, it's up to you! Is capitalism worth fighting for? Think it over!

* *

Next our glib-tongued orator turned his attention to unpacking a box of red herrings, termed in these days reconstruction. The question of housing reform was an essential feature in improving the health of the people; healthier conditions of workshops, and wages which will sustain life in full vigour; more attention to be paid to the schools, encouragement of production and national assistance: all these things are offered as tempting baits to the unwary to lure them into further support of capitalist apologists. Coming to close grips with this specious thing, he adds—

Let us have it when the nation is riding the chariot of a high purpose ere it comes down to the dusty road. That is the time to reconstruct, that is the time to build—when there is the spirit of fraternity throughout the land, when there is no longer rich and poor, one party or other, but one people, one spirit, one purpose, one soul—to lift our native land, not merely above the menace of a foreign foe, but above the wretchedness, the squalor, the horror, the misery which so many men and women and children who live on the hearthstones of this old land have been enduring. I have been amongst the people and I know it, and I want to see this thing righted after the war.

All these things are offered to the credulous if they will but bow down and worship him. But let us pause for a moment and ask if he will really "deliver the goods." What of the promises made years

ago? What of the land campaign, the 1909 budget, the easier and pleasanter road, the road through fields of waving corn, and the benefits to be conferred on long-suffering humanity by the insurance act. Long years of office and a total inability to deliver the goods in the past emboldens me to say that these fine words are but empty vapourings.

* *

In these days when shortage of shipping is a continual cry, the following announcement is illuminating,—from South Africa this time—

A boat arrived here the other day with motors and racehorses for Solly Joel, but no mails or anything of any use to the general community. No ships can be found for wheat, wool, hides, and a thousand and one things that are wanted at home in England, but a ship can be easily spared for Solly Joel's racehorses, motors, etc.—"Daily News," Aug. 28th, 1918.

Cheerful news this for those who "spot" winners and "back" horses. But what matters it for those who lack the necessities of life so long as we maintain this glorious form of sport?

* *

More business ability! Recently Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P., was speaking at Liverpool, where he read the following letter received by a discharged soldier—

The Minister of Pensions has decided to continue your pension at the rate of 22s. 9d. a week from July 31, 1918, till January 31, 1919, then at the rate of 19s. 6d. for life, at the expiration of which you will again be medically examined with a view to consideration of your claim for further pension.

Funny, isn't it? Evidently the age of miracles is not yet passed.

* *

Whilst so many people are busily employed with the mote in the German's eye regardless of the beam in their own it is interesting to read President Wilson's Proclamation condemning manifestations of the mob spirit. I read:

There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice.

No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honour and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions, can justify mob action while the courts of justice are open and the Governments of the States and nations are ready to do their duty.

We are at this very moment fighting lawless passion. Germany has outlawed herself among the nations because she has disregarded the sacred obligations of law and has made lynchings of her armies. Lynchers emulate her disgraceful example.

I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob, or who gives it any sort of countenance, is no son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. "Star," Sept. 3rd, 1918.

In this "land of the free" we are also acquainted with the mob spirit. One has only to call to mind recent happenings at Plumstead Common and Abbey Wood. And we have no recollection of seeing any condemnation of such tactics by those who are alleged to be the custodians of the rights of small nations.

THE SCOUT.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, and correspondence submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 28 Union Street, London, W., 1.—to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

Twelve Months, post free ..	1s. 6d.
Six " " " ..	9d

The Socialist Standard.



FRIDAY,  NOV. 1, 1918.

BY REQUEST.

We have received copies of letters that have passed between the Socialist Labour Press, of 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow, and Mr. G. N. Barnes on the subject of the closing down of that press, and have been asked for some comment on the matter.

Briefly, the facts are as follows. Over three months ago the police raided the premises of the Socialist Labour Press, dismantled the machinery, confiscated necessary parts of it, and so effectually prevented the carrying on of the firm's printing business, the chief part of which was the printing of the "Socialist."

After protests in certain official quarters, Mr. Barnes was written to. His two replies show first an ignorance of the case, and second, inaccurate information resulting from his inquiries. On these points the S.L.P. answers completely disprove Barnes' assertions that the "identity had been concealed" of the persons responsible for certain publications printed by the Socialist Labour Press. Two out of the three men *had* been prosecuted, though in one case the prosecution was dropped, while the police had paid visits to the house and held interviews with the third person. Such inaccuracies and mis-statements are common with Ministers and officials, and simply show that Barnes is no exception to the rule.

There is, however, one assumption upon which both Mr. Barnes and the S.L.P. agree. This is the notion that government by a ruling class can be other than "despotic" in dealing with its slaves. Thus Mr. Barnes in his first letter says :—

I must say that your statement as to a despotic Government preventing free expression of opinion on

the part of working-class movements doesn't carry conviction.

And in the second letter he states :—

There is no question of the Government preventing free expression of opinion on the part of working-class movements

The Government merely took the only course open to it to check the activities of persons who were working against the interests of the Nation.

In the covering letter accompanying the copies of the correspondence, the secretary of the S.L.P. states:—

- Quite apart from the fact that we are at a great disadvantage, and suffering considerable loss . . . the Principle of a Free Press is at stake.

That Mr. Barnes should take up the attitude given above is quite understandable. He is a member of the working class who has been given a position and a salary to mislead and deceive the workers with the stale lies about "Freedom," "Democracy," "Liberty," and the rest.

But the S.L.P. claims to be clear and sound in its knowledge of the slave position of the working class. Anyone armed with this knowledge would easily understand that the slaves of society are completely under the control of the master class, whose rule is only modified by the needs of the system as it develops and the benefit to be derived from a smooth working of production, often obtained by giving certain concessions to deluded workers. But the ruling class have the decision in their hands whenever they fancy their interests will be served by any particular action.

"Freedom of Speech," "Free Press," "Freedom of Assembly," etc., are hypocritical phrases successfully used to muddle working-class minds. Under capitalism there is not, nor has there ever been, any of these things.

Before the war meetings could only be held either by direct permission or on the sufferance of the police. Whenever the authorities, or even subordinate officials, wished, the meetings were stopped, and the Commissioner of Police could *legally* refuse to give any reason for his action. Printers' offices could be, and were, raided and publications suppressed at the discretion of the authorities. *After* the raid other action—such as prosecution on some legal point—might be taken, but this was not necessary, and often was not done.

When the war started the passing of the Defence of the Realm Act brought these powers to a focus and enabled action to be taken rapidly and without the formalities that had been usual in certain cases. The so-called great English charter of personal liberty—the Habeas Corpus Act—is overridden by it, and scores of men and women have been arrested, thrown into jail and left there, without trial and even without any charge being preferred against them, and inquiries are met with the curt answer—when one is given—that it is under D.O.R.A.

November, 1918.

Often they will refuse to state under which regulation even the action is being taken.

This vast engine of power is at the disposal not only of the Government and Ministers, but also of a large number of lesser officials who can use it in any case they wish.

With this simple glaring fact before us, how shallow and foolish it sounds to claim that there is any "Principle of a Free Press" or "Freedom of Speech" for the wage-slaves! They have them not and never have had. The S.L.P. claim to the contrary gives large support to the mouth-pieces of the master class—from G. N. Barnes and Sam Gompers to the "Daily Mail" and "Daily News"—that we are a "Free People" fighting to make the world "Safe for Democracy."

The reasons for this misunderstanding is to be found in the ignorance and incorrect conception of the S.L.P. in the matters of political and economic power and organisation. They have glorified the latter and belittled the former in spite of the facts around them.

Never have modern wage slaves been so favourably placed for fighting by economic methods as during this war. The demand for labour-power has far exceeded the available supply ; the orders given firms have been extremely urgent, and in most cases prices have been whatever the capitalists liked to ask. With no unemployed army outside the factory gates, and therefore no blacklegs available, the "economic power" of the masters has been reduced to its lowest limits under the system, yet they have won every battle they decided to fight.

The Clyde engineers were beaten and their leaders deported. The Barrow engineers were defeated. The Coventry engineers and the air-craft workers lost their struggle. The more general strike of the engineers throughout the country was a failure. The Clyde shipwrights were driven back in about a week, and the London air-craft strike failed to save Rock, the shop-steward.

How came the masters to win so easily under conditions so vastly favourable to the workers? By their "economic power" or "organisation"? No! It was by their control of **POLITICAL POWER**, and that alone, that they were able to dictate to their slaves the terms: "Either work on our conditions or face death in the firing line." It was by their control of the political machinery that they extended and consolidated their power in the form of D.O.R.A.

While the masters have this control it is quite misleading to urge the workers to fight for the "Principle of a Free Press" or "Freedom of Speech." No such principles exist under this system.

The only way to obtain these "Freedoms" is the Socialist way. That is by organising to take control of the political powers for the purpose of entering into possession of the means of life—the land

and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

In this greatest of all class struggles the workers are quite correct in seizing every vantage point and every opportunity for spreading their propaganda and organisation; but they will be utterly mistaken and will only add to their own confusion by confounding these necessary detail struggles with the central object of the battle, or raising them into "Principles" that have no existence in reality.

It is above all necessary to keep clear the great central fact that the workers are wage-slaves to the master class, that therefore they are existing in slave conditions, and that they will only obtain their freedom by capturing political power for the purpose of abolishing their slavery.

MR. LONG SAYS OUR HEROES DIED FOR
GERMAN COLONIES.

We have been frequently told by those in authority over us that this war is not a war of conquest, but a war of right against might in order to make the world safe for democracy. This being so one is at a loss to understand why Mr. Walter Long, when addressing the Colonial Pressmen on the subject of the German Colonies, should have delivered himself of these words :

I am here to-night to say that if these territories are returned to Germany the sacrifice of our heroes will have been made in vain. The spirits of those men will come from their graves and rebuke you if the Pen is so cowardly as to give back what the Sword has won.—
 "Daily News," Sept. 27th, 1918.

After all is said and done it would appear to be a case of "Let him take who has the power and let him keep who can." In other words, the endorsement of the gospel of might. S. T.

Will readers and comrades who have any spare copies of the back numbers of the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** detailed below kindly send same to the Head Office, 28, Union Street, London, W.1, as they are required for orders for bound volumes.

Vol.	Year.	Month.
1	1904	Sept., Oct., Dec.
1	1905	Jan., Feb.
2	1906	Jan., Mar., May.
3	1906	Sept., Oct.
3	1907	July, Aug.
4	1907	Nov., Dec.
4	1908	Jan.
5	1908	Oct., Nov.
6	1910	Feb.
11	1914	Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec.
12	1915	Jan. Feb., Mar., April, May, June, July, Aug.
12	1916	May.
13	1917	Jan., April.

SOCIETY AND MORALS.

PART X. MORALS AND SOCIALISM.

The need for the efficient organisation of the Socialist movement has enforced, as a part of its moral principles, a stern "party discipline." Faced by innumerable obstacles, surrounded and attacked by every agency of the ruling class, the butt of misrepresentation, the hunting-ground of the would-be demagogue, self-seeking "leader" and *agent provocateur*, the revolutionary organisation can only maintain its integrity unsullied and its vitality unweakened by being democratic in constitution, definite in principles, self-critical, and by the rigorous exclusion of non-revolutionary elements. The Socialist must be loyal to his party organisation and vigorous in its defence. He holds as despicable traitors those who, while affirming their adherence to Socialist principles by mouth, deny those principles by acting in contradiction to their implications.

Owing to the cosmopolitan nature of capitalism, the economic and social status of the workers is fundamentally the same the world over. They have the same problems to face in every country, like interests to satisfy, and a common enemy to combat. Evidently, therefore, proletarian revolutionary morality is of international application.

This "Internationalism" of the Socialist movement is in direct antagonism to that national sentiment which is fostered by the bourgeoisie under the name of "patriotism." Despite cosmopolitan finance, the growth of world trade, and the fact that the capitalist class is internationally solid when faced with the opposition of the proletariat, the politics of the bourgeoisie have always been predominantly "national" in character. This has been so because, during the evolution of the bourgeoisie, their class power became consolidated into numerous national governments which could not expand in power territorially for the purpose of enabling the acquisition of further economic advantages and resources without sooner or later coming into conflict. With the rise of Imperialism this "national antagonism" became exceedingly acute and, as we have seen, "patriotism" received a still greater moral significance by reason of its being the prime mental agent in the satisfaction of the imperialist needs of the capitalist class.

But the class-conscious worker sees that "nationalism" is a snare in the path towards emancipation. Not only does it serve to cloud the class issue *within* the nation, but it also hinders the workers of the world from recognising and acting up to their unity of interest. To the Socialist, therefore, national pride, like racial aloofness, is a contemptible and pernicious prejudice which it is highly immoral for any Socialist to uphold or give way to.

What significance has the "fatherland" or the "glory of Empire" for the wage-slave whose only guarantee of livelihood rests on his ability to sell his labour-power? None! save that it receives from political superstitions inculcated and carefully nurtured by agents of the dominant class. "Workers of all lands unite!" will inevitably be the watchword of the latter-day revolutionary.

For that organ of oppression and of capitalist protection and attack—militarism—together with closely-allied phenomenon—"war"—through which are sacrificed millions of workers on the altar of Profit, the Socialist cannot possibly have anything but the liveliest hatred. He never fails to unveil their hideous reality to his fellow-workers. Nevertheless, being a stern realist, he does not allow himself to be led into the delusion, so fervently held to by idealistic pacifists, that the use of force itself is futile and unjustifiable. The use of force is never an end in itself but always a *means* to an end. History shows that, whilst force has frequently served as a means of subjection and a preserver of enslavement, it has also been indispensable to any movement of revolt on the part of the oppressed.

"Strife" is likewise considered by many so-called "advanced thinkers" to be in itself immoral, and by these the Socialist doctrine of the class-war is discredited and disliked. As we have seen, however, Socialist principles are not deductions from any "absolute ideals," but have been arrived at by a study of the actual evolution of human society; and such a study shows that class-struggles have been, and that inevitably, the medium of social progress. The proletarian revolutionary movement, therefore, clearly recognises the necessity of a consciously organised struggle against the forces of opposition and reaction, together with the vital importance of acquiring that social and political power by the use of which alone it can institute social control of the means of life.

Conclusion and Summary.

With the emancipation of the workers achieved through economic socialisation human society will enter upon a new phase of its existence. With the forces of production democratically used by and for society, economic exploitation will become impossible and class distinctions a thing of the past. Then the prevailing ethical code will no longer represent, as it has done for so many centuries, the interests merely of a minority of the community. As in the far back savage and barbaric communism the social organism will be a harmonious structure in which the welfare of each and every member is conditional upon the well-being of the society as a whole.

But whereas the morality of tribal society was narrow because the groups were small and exclusive, the communism of the future will be embracing, and probably as wide as the human race itself. Thus the "brotherhood of man," often

dreamt about but never achieved, will become a living reality. Grounded upon the world-wide inter-dependence of economic processes, such a "world" society will leave as little room for national and racial antagonisms as for those of class.

Moreover the elaborate political machinery which to-day is necessary to enforce the most vital tenets of the capitalistic code will be rendered functionless and obsolete, because the incentive to act in a manner menacing to the social system will have diminished to insignificance. Free from drudgery and emancipated from the miseries or even possibility of material poverty, having access to every avenue of knowledge and art, the men and women of the future will also witness the reconciliation between egoism and altruism, because through economic democracy the merging of the interests of the individual in that of the whole community will have been for the first time rendered completely possible.

The writer has in this series of essays attempted to give a brief account of the changes which have taken place in human society with especial emphasis upon the co-relative changes in the opinions of men as to which modes of conduct and principles of living were good and which were bad in the moral sense. In thus epitomising the results arrived at by the wide researches of many historians and sociologists, many points, even important ones, have necessarily been omitted. The outstanding features of each epoch have alone been dealt with. But as an introduction to an immense subject, rendered in simple language, to members of the working class, its purpose will have been served if it succeeds in dissipating, even in a slight degree, those superstitions prevalent in the minds of so many workers, that what is "right or wrong" *always has been and always will be*, and that social phenomena, such as the division into classes and the wages system are anything more than temporary and relatively short-lived products of changes in the material conditions under which men have lived.

This last point is important, for a wider appreciation of the truth of the "materialist conception of history" is a necessary factor in achieving that supreme aim towards which the writer has made this humble contribution—the emancipation of the proletariat.

Let us now, in conclusion, recall to the reader's mind some of the essential facts set forth in this rather disconnected series of essays. First, the nature of morality was discussed, and it was seen to consist of certain opinions regarding conduct and the principles which underlie it. These opinions are forced upon men by the social life which they lead. The impulse to moral activity was seen to be based upon certain instinctive sociable feelings which antedate the existence of man himself, and are to be found among all the higher animals which live in organised communi-

ties. Then it was shown that the evolution of the artificial appliances and processes which, among animals, man alone has been able to use in maintaining existence, is the root cause of the changes in the form of his social aggregations.

Following these changes in greater detail from the rudest organisations of savagery to the capitalist civilisation of our own day it was seen that, along with changing needs and interests, went a corresponding development in outlook, in men's notions of good and evil, right and wrong. Parricide, cannibalism, incest, and group-marriage, once normal and moral, through the pressure of economic change became immoral. Maternal "law" makes way for the dominance of the patriarch. Polygamy, then normal, is later superseded by monogamy. Chattel slavery becomes the basis of society, and its many horrors are upheld by the moral law until, at a later date, having become obsolete, it is declared anathema. Serfdom passes through the same phases.

Wage-labour and "free contract" become lauded to the skies, and along with the "rights of capital" are declared the only just and moral basis of society. Competition is now the "life of industry," and free trade, according to the cant of Liberalism, the "hope of humanity." Imperialism dashes this hope to the ground and substitutes the patriot's answer to the call of empire as the virtue *par excellence*. Only by the clear-eyed workers for the proletarian revolution is the veil torn from these hypocritical shibboleths revealing naked the profit-hunger of capital, of the bourgeois interests.

Spurning the ideals, the threadbare theories and canting morality of decadent capitalism, the Socialist formulates his own code of morality upon those principles and ideals which flow from the logic of Marxism. Socialist morality is *revolutionary* because its ideal is the overthrow of bourgeois society and the institution of communism; it is *critical* because it ruthlessly analyses all the manifold institutions, opinions and motives supported by and themselves in turn supporting existing society; it is *scientific* because based upon the findings of sociology; it is a *fighting* morality because it promotes the class-war and provides the discipline and fervour necessary for the revolutionary struggle; it is *proletarian* because the Socialist movement draws its vitality and strength from the working class who, alone in modern society, are fitted by their mode and condition of life to accept the Socialist Ideal.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

THE END.

MR. HUGHES DAY BY DAY.

At Glasgow on Wednesday. In Britain, before the war, conditions were sordid and depressing—millions on the verge of starvation, living on the brink of a dreadful abyss.

At Aberdeen on Thursday. In Britain, before the war, the spark of divine fire had been choked by the ashes of prosperity.

"Daily News," 2.9.1918.

THE LITTLE TAMBOURINE.

We publish below our fourth list of subscribers to our £1,000 Fund. Did we start off with too much of a sprint, or how is it that we have got winded before a quarter of the distance has been covered. When some four months ago the mantle of Old Moore dropped upon our shoulders, we showed that certain events looming in the distance made very urgent a fighting fund. Our prophecy seems now nearer fulfilment than even we expected then, yet our fund falls a long way short of what we asked for. We earnestly and hopefully appeal to all the comrades and readers of this paper to do all that is required to reach the total we have aimed at, and even to double it, while there is yet time.

FOURTH LIST.

Amount previously acknowledged	£180	19	4
Members of Leigh Socialist Party	-	3	6
Watford Branch	-	3	0
The Rebels	-	2	18
J. W. P., 5s.; G. B., 5s.; H. W., 2s. 6d. (Watford)	-	12	6
R. W. H.	-	10	0
E. F.	-	10	0
W. S. Desborough	-	8	6
Goltz	-	5	0
F. Foy	-	3	6
Oscar Paisley	-	2	6
L. Vinitsky	-	2	0
G. Levant	-	2	0
A. T. Connelly	-	2	0
R. E., in France	-	2	0
A. McLean	-	1	0
Sheet 142, J. Haughton (Tottenham)	-	4	0
" 123, F. Hicks	-	1	0
" 193, R. Collins	-	15	0
" 144, F. Fryer	-	13	0
" 146, D. Godfrey	-	13	0
" 186, D. Godfrey	-	7	6
" 143, E. A. S.	-	2	3
" 147, Treasurer	-	2	0
" 55, M. Green and M. Lipman (Hackney)	-	3	0
" 22, G. Higgs (Walthamstow)	-	2	9
" 14, C. Revelle (Wood Green)	-	2	13
" 138, J. Wray	-	1	5
" 167, W. J. Harris	-	8	6
" 76, G. T. Wilson (West Ham)	-	1	6
" 83, C. Parker	-	16	3
" 11, P. Hallard	-	9	0
" 163, R. Temple (Edmonton)	-	1	0
" 38, F. Hawes	-	4	0
" 140, J. Hodges	-	4	0
" — A. Jacobs (East London)	-	7	0
" 176, A. Barker (Tooting)	-	8	6
" 177, H. Wallis	-	6	0
" 173, H. Hutchins	-	11	6
" 41, H. Hutchins	-	6	6
" 43, A. Elliott	-	2	0
" 66, F. Craske (Battersea)	-	16	4
" 65, A. J.	-	9	6
Total	£218	0	10

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

THE Socialist Standard

The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 172 Vol. 15] LONDON, DECEMBER 1918. [MONTHLY, ONE PENNY

**MARTIAL LAW ELECTION.
VOTE THUS:**

LIBERAL INCLUDING LABOUR.	
TORY	
COALITION	
UNIONIST	
LABOUR INCLUDING LIBERAL.	

The Socialist Party, owing to lack of means, are unable to put up candidates at this Election, but every voter who adheres to Socialist principles may vote for Socialism by writing the word SOCIALISM across his or her ballot paper as shown above. To do this is to register a demand for a Socialist candidate.

sub-division and "dilution" of labour processes, premium bonus schemes and extension of piece-work, have resulted in a greatly increased output during the war.

On the return of "peace" conditions these methods will be extended and elaborated, resulting in still greater "driving" and intensification of toil with its consequent increased profits for the master class and greater misery for the workers. The urge of "patriotism" and "helping the boys in the trenches," will be replaced by the more deadly, if more stealthy, whip of hunger. Schemes have been prepared and discussed for this purpose, and one set of such schemes has been critically examined and analysed in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* for April and May, 1917, under the heading "Promises and Pie Crust."

The vast army of demobilised workers—from both military service and munition works—will supply a staggering number of unemployed which the masters can use to beat down wages and to impose stricter conditions of employment. The reconstruction of industry and the re-building of shell-shattered towns in the war area will afford but a relatively short, and by no means complete, respite from the operation of these conditions. Their application will be world-wide, affecting "new" as well as "old" countries where capitalism rules.

The contradiction and antagonism between the increasing powers of wealth production faced with a relatively decreasing capacity, under private ownership of the means of life, on the part of the majority of society to absorb the products, will grow greater year by year. This growing antagonism, coupled with the inability of the capitalist class to control the effects of this vicious system, will drive the workers to realise that not national boundaries but class barriers are the matters for them to study. Then they will see the sound and impregnable truth of the closing lines of our War Manifesto, where we say—

"Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our good will and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism."

Make no mistake about it; the capitalist nations of the globe will unite to form a solid phalanx in defence of their properties and interests the world over. The huge war just finishing is rapidly being overshadowed by the vaster CLASS war, moving into the last phases of the greatest of all struggles the world has ever seen—the war over the ownership of the means of life; the war to decide whether the producers shall be

SLAVES OR FREEMEN.

In the great war now closing various races—black and brown, white and yellow—were mar-

shalled against each other by the master class. In the final phases which we are approaching, of the greater war between the classes, race, colour, and sex barriers will be swept aside, and humanity as a whole will line up for the last great struggle of the human race—the struggle for the emancipation from Capitalism—for the establishment of the Socialist system. Ed. Com.

A JOKER'S CONCEPTION OF SOCIALISM.

Winston Churchill, in a speech delivered at Dundee, on May 4th, 1918, stated that—

Translated into concrete terms, Socialistic "society" is a set of disagreeable individuals who obtained a majority for their caucus at some recent election, and whose officials in consequence would look on humanity through innumerable grills and pigeon-holes and across innumerable counters, and say to them, "Tickets, please." Truly this grey old world has never seen so grim a joke.

Even in pre-war days the above read suspiciously like a faithful description of capitalism. Wages could never be regarded by the worker as anything but certificates or counters entitling him to the bare necessities of life, after toiling all the week under the watchful eye of exacting and disagreeable overseers. He was asked for his "books" before he commenced work, designated a "hand," given a number and clocked on and off at meals, with an occasional visit from the timekeeper in between to make assurance doubly sure and see that the worker—who has sold his energy—parts with it according to the terms, and plays no tricks. Surely they were the days of "tickets, please," of "grills," and "countless disagreeable officials."

But how much more so in the days when capitalism—carried on the tidal wave of "over-production" to the brink of a universal crisis—staked everything on the conflict of armed forces.

The applicant for the right to be exploited had, perforce, to submit himself to suspicious, supercilious and disagreeable officials at the "Labour Exchanges," who demanded "Tickets" without the "please"; registration cards, insurance cards, and military papers. Forms had to be filled up and numerous questions answered, and in the factory numbering and checking as usual. Then came rationing with coupons and more disagreeable officials installed in offices as "food controllers" to badger and intimidate the unoffending but necessary worker. "Truly this grey old world has never seen so grim a joke," and the joker has truly earned the "cap and bells." F. F.

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RIGHT AGAIN.

A little while since President Wilson, in this the mouth-piece of the Allies, was screaming for the German people to arise and overthrow their rulers. There would be no negotiation with the Hohenzollerns, he declared; the Kaiser and his gang would have to go. Every available means was exploited in order to induce the working class of Germany to solve the difficulties of the Allies by plunging into revolution.

We said, however, at the time, that should the workers of the Central Empires take their cue from Mr. Wilson and attempt to take into their own hands control of public affairs, the armies of the Allies would be used to crush down the rising and restore security to capitalist interests.

What has happened? After the signing of the Armistice a wave of revolution appeared to threaten the existence of German capitalism. Immediately the American President announced that no food would be sent to Germany unless the people were quiet. So we were not far out, nor did we have to wait long for events to prove the correctness of our statement. If the Allied Armies are not called on to restore capitalist domination in Germany it will only be because the capitalists of the world have found sufficient the more cunning scheme of starving into submission the revolutionaries who have served their purpose. JACKO.

THE CALL.

Come from the slum and the hovel,
From the depth of your dumb despair;
From the hell where you writhe and grovel—
Crushed by the woes you bear;
There are joys that are yours for the taking,
There are hopes of a height unknown,
A harvest of life in the making
From the sorrows the past has sown.
Come from the dust of the battle,
Where your blood, like a river, runs,
Where helpless as driven cattle
You feed the insatiable guns.
You fight when your masters bid you,
Now fight that yourselves be free,
In the last great fight that shall rid you
Of your age-long slavery.

There's a murmur of many voices
That shall roll like thunder at last;
The shout of a world that rejoices
In a harvest ripening fast.
For the slaves their shackles are breaking
With wonder and ecstasy;
There is life, new life, in the making
In a new-won world made free.

F. J. WEBB.

BY WHICH MEANS?

—:—

Revolution or Evolution?

"The difference between evolution and revolution is simply a difference of time."

Thus spake a "brother" at a recent trade union branch meeting at which this scribbler was present. The fallacy shall be conscripted and made to serve a useful purpose in these columns. And it is the more welcome because it raises an important point at an opportune time.

Before we go any further it may be pointed out that the idea that evolution and revolution are one and the same thing except so far as they are differentiated by the time factor is really at the bottom of all the political activities of the "Socialist" reformists, so far, at all events, as they are not the outcome of deliberate and calculating treachery. The line of argument is, of course, that evolution being but a slower form of revolution, or as the reformists would prefer to put it, revolution being just evolution with "some move" on, "Socialism by evolution"—Socialism by reform, that is—is the line of least resistance, and therefore the correct policy to pursue.

If the premise that the only difference between revolution and evolution is a difference in time were correct the rest would be fair matter for argument; but the fact is that evolution and revolution are entirely different movements.

By social evolution we mean a gradual change in society by a process of development of the existing form. Revolution is a change by the destruction of the old social structure and the substitution of a new one. Hence it is seen that in reality the time factor does not enter into the matter at all. The difference is fundamental.

The question, then, resolves itself into this: is it possible for the present social system to evolve into another system—to pass, that is, by gradual change into a system different in all its parts?

A social system is not a mere accidental aggregation of social customs, relations, and institutions, springing up haphazard side by side. It is a co-related whole, arising from a definite basis or foundation. Nor is this foundation a product of chance.

If we compare the present social system with say the feudal system of the Middle Ages we find a great difference in the main group of social characteristics. First, the working class of the present day sell their labour power in order to live, while the serf and peasant of mediæval times lived by the direct application of his labour power, still under his own control, to the land and material in his own possession, and through instruments that

were owned by him. Secondly, the whole of the wealth by which men live to-day is produced as objects to be sold, while under serfdom the people lived by wealth which was produced for use, and only the surplus of which was sold.

These differences in characteristics are of vital importance. The first means that the position of the worker has changed from that of the serf (and later the peasant) working for himself to that of a wage worker working for another, and therefore the whole life of the vast bulk of the people has changed. The second means the whole purpose of production has undergone a change, and instead of bread being produced to feed people, and clothes to cover them, and houses to shelter them, these things are produced for profit.

The thing I wish to emphasise is that these conditions of the respective ages are closely connected. How this comes about is easily seen. When the peasant works on his own land his first object is to produce food and clothing to satisfy his own needs; such things are produced primarily for use, not for profit. If, now, the stage of development of the means and methods of production have not advanced sufficiently to enable the peasant to produce much more than enough for himself (as was the case in mediæval times), then any extensive production for anything but use is out of the question. On the other hand, when a man pays money away as wages, he does so, in the modern world, in order that that money shall return to him plus more money. He records his action in a book, starting with the money he lays out and ending with the money he gets back. That increase is his object—it is his profit—it is that for which the wealth has been produced.

If we examine any of the main relations in present-day society we shall find that they are based upon the ownership of the means of living (land, mines, factories, machinery, railways, and the like) by some of the people. The effect of this is plain. Society must, first of all, be a society divided into classes—a propertied class and a propertyless class.

In savage society the land belongs to the whole tribe, who use it in common for hunting and seeking their wild fruits and grains. In such a society all have equal rights in the means of living, and there are no classes.

The whole character of society is thus seen to rest upon the property condition upon which it is based. Class society, with its social inequalities and class antagonisms; production for profit, with its cut-throat competition, its swindling and sham and adulteration and shoddy produce; wage-slavery, with its overwork and unemployment, its sordid and depressing poverty for the vast bulk of the workers; these things make up the most important part of the social world from the workers' point of view, and they all are based upon the ownership by a class of the means of living.

We have said that in savage society the land was owned by the whole community. The reason is not far to seek. Agriculture was either not discovered or not developed. The land was only useful as a hunting ground, and therefore as the common land of the tribe.

When, however, the means of producing wealth developed, through the discovery and progress of the arts of agriculture and domesticating animals, to the point where labour was capable of yielding a surplus of wealth beyond what was necessary for its maintenance, the way was open for chattel-slavery. Accumulated property became possible, and this forming a basis for a dominant class, the old democratic social system broke down, and class society, based on private property, made its appearance.

What we learn from this is that it is the development of the means of production that is the cause of social change. This is easily understood. As the industrial relations are the basis of society, and those industrial relations (which men enter into in making their living together) must be determined by the means which bring men together in industrial relations (the means of production), it follows that as these means develop social changes must take place. Let us see now what part evolution and revolution play in these changes.

There are two movements to consider—first, the advance of the means of production; secondly, the change in the social system.

As regards the first, no one will pretend that this is the outcome of any conscious effort of man striving toward social change. Improvements in the means and instruments of production, and in methods, are forced upon the controllers of industry by the competitive nature of their industrial system. This development goes on unceasingly, and is a true evolutionary process.

But mark this—however much these means and instruments of production may evolve, that evolution cannot of itself change the social system.

For instance, the unconscious development of machinery was not sufficient in itself to evolve society from a basis of peasant-proprietorship and handicraft to a basis of wage labour. Before men could be reduced to wage-slavery it was necessary to deprive them of all other means of livelihood—they had to be divorced from their holdings. In like manner, all the evolution in the world of the modern means and processes of production will not change their character of implements for the production of profit through the exploitation of wage labour. Their gradual advance may, nay does, prepare the way for their conversion into common property, but it does not shift in the least degree the ownership and control under which they exist. When these means of living ceased to belong to those who operated them they became the property of a class, and in spite of all their

evolution they are still the property of that class.

No evolution and revolution are not the same thing with a difference of time. The evolution of the technical resources of man it is true renders necessary certain changes in the structure of society, but such changes are always consciously wrought by the class which gains by them. They take the form of readjustments through revolution. As they are consciously achieved by the revolutionary class, so they are consciously opposed by the reactionary class—which means, of course, that they are realised through a class struggle.

To-day the instruments of labour have evolved to the point where they are ripe for their ownership and control by society. As, generations ago, they divorced the workers from ownership, as a necessary condition of their further advance, so now they have banished their capitalist owners from all participation in the necessary operations of production. The type of capitalist to-day is the shareholder—as such an absentee, a superfluity, who can be dropped out without creating any "aching void" or causing any disruption. Every operation of a productive character is performed and supervised by hirelings—members of the working class. The work of evolution as a preparatory force on the technical field is completed. Its further progress can only be coercive and educational.

At no time in history have the productive processes made an advance at all comparable to that of the past four years. The difficulties with which this is going to confront the capitalists of the world are foreshadowed by their wild clamour for a league of nations. The increased productivity of human energy resulting from the speeding-up and the tapping of lower stratas of labour-power (female, for instance) has produced a condition that fills the master class with apprehension. The surplus wealth—the product in excess of wages—which is about to be poured forth in all lands presents a problem of markets that is appalling, and from which the master class shrink in fear. So, in a frenzied attempt to escape the logical outcome of the evolution of their technical processes—war unceasing for markets—they endeavour take the step of "arrangement" through a "league of nations"—a resource which logically leads to the regulation of industry.

As a matter of fact, along this road lies the only lengthy respite for the capitalist class. They themselves will be forced to try some method of controlling output (as for years they have done in certain directions, for example, the organised destruction of cotton by the American planters) as the alternative to war—which offers temptation to revolt. It is here that the danger of the theory that revolution and evolution differ only in time is most apparent. For the necessary accompaniment of the attempt to control production is to modify the wages system and produce a State slave system. To which end the reforms of the "evolutionists,"

who imagine that to "nationalise" is to socialise, are not antagonistic.

The social basis cannot evolve. To "nationalise" the railways, for example, is not to make them the property of the whole, but simply of the State—in other words, of the capitalist class. If they are run for profit, then the profit goes to relieve the master class of certain burdens which they would otherwise have to meet through taxes. If they are run on a "free service basis," then the workers, having no railway fares to pay, can work for that much less wages, and will have to. The same applies to housing. Free rent simply means that the capitalists stable their human cattle through the State instead of through the private landlord. And as with each of these "reforms" the ruling class will add some substitute for the lessened power of the whip that drives the workers into the labour market, the more of these "reforms" the "evolutionists" achieve the nearer are the workers to that State slavery in which the capitalists may attempt to find refuge from revolution.

Once again, the instruments of labour are the subjects of evolution—conscious as far as their increased productivity goes, unconscious as regards their effect on the social relations. The social edifice is, however, the conscious product of men. It is established and safeguarded consciously by the class which dominates under it, using all the forces, military and otherwise, at their disposal to delay the readjustment called for by the evolution of the means and methods of production. It becomes, therefore, a conscious struggle between classes—a class struggle between classes conscious of their interests.

What is indicated, therefore, is that the working-class fight for emancipation must be based upon the principle of the class struggle—which means that there must be no compromising, no political trading, no obscuring of the line of class cleavage. It must be based, further, upon a class-conscious proletariat—a working class conscious of their true interest and aim—a politically educated working class. It must take the form of a struggle for the control of the political machinery, since it is through that that the armed forces are controlled.

All these considerations point the way to the working-class voter at the ballot box. He must have nothing to do with any reform-monger. Only the accredited candidate of the Socialist Party—the man put forward and guaranteed by the political party of the working class, standing for the Socialist revolution and that alone, and asking for support on no other ground whatever—only such a candidate is any good to the workers. And no such candidate is to be found in any part of the Kingdom.

Nevertheless, every voter may cast a vote for Socialism by writing "Socialism" across his ballot paper, and such a demand for Socialist candidates will not be made in vain.

A. E. J.

The Blood-Red General Election

FELLOW WORKERS,

After four and a quarter years of unparalleled slaughter of the working class; after, according to some present estimates, about 12,000,000 men have been killed, and about 60,000,000 crippled, maimed or ruined in their constitutions, the Government suddenly announces a General Election. Why this hasty decision to consult an electorate that has been ignored for eight years?

The Conservatives claim in the words of Lloyd George that—

It is a moribund Parliament. . . . We must get a mandate immediately. Somebody will have to go to the Peace Conference with authority from the people of this country to speak in their name.—“Daily Telegraph,” Nov. 18th, 1918.

What cant and humbug! What “mandate” had they from the people to declare war? In whose name did they introduce D.O.R.A.—the most gigantic piece of oppressive legislation the capitalist class ever devised? By whose authority was Conscription—Military and Industrial—placed upon the working class?

The same speaker indulged in his old clap-trap when, referring to the recruiting statistics, he said—

I was appalled to find there was a much higher percentage of physical unfitnes in this country than in France, Germany, or any other great belligerent country.—*Ibid.*

Proof of the speaker's hypocrisy is shown in his previous statements. Speaking at Birmingham, on October 26th, 1906, he said:—

Here you have been tinkering for generations with reform, and the end of it all is slums, pauperism and great want in a land of plenty.

He then went on to say that if the Great Liberal Party did not remove these conditions in three years they deserved to go.

In 1911—two years after the Liberals should have left office on the above contention, Mr. Lloyd George speaking at Cardiff, said:—

To-day you have greater poverty in the aggregate in the land than you have ever had. You have oppression of the weak by the strong. You have a more severe economic bondage than you probably ever had; for grinding labour to-day does not always guarantee sustenance or security. At any rate, that condition of things was foreign to the barbaric regime of the darker ages.—“Christian Commonwealth,” Jan. 17th, 1912.

Not only had the Liberal Party failed to remove the conditions of poverty and misery, but, as admitted by Lloyd George, these conditions had become worse. Yet this man retained his seat and office in spite of these facts.

In a preface to Mr. Rowntree's pamphlet on “The Labourer and the Land,” written in May, 1914, Lloyd George stated:—

More than half the wage-earners in the most ancient, the most worthy, and the most vital of our industries, are living on wages which do not allow them and their families the same amount of nourishment which they could obtain in a workhouse or a prison.

This after eight years of Liberal Government, and five years after they should have left office according to Lloyd George.

And he has the brazen effrontery to say “he was appalled” at the amount of physical unfitnes in the country after bearing witness himself to the existence of the conditions causing it. Well may the public house sign at King's Lynn of “The Honest Lawyer” show an individual with his head cut off.

With equal cant and hypocrisy Mr. Asquith opened the campaign on behalf of the official Liberal Party at Caxton Hall on 18th November. Referring to the fact that, owing to the short period allowed for the Election, large numbers of soldiers will not be able to vote, while the majority of those who will be able to vote will have no opportunity of learning the candidates' views. He said:—

A House of Commons brought into being at such a time by an electorate so truncated and mutilated will of necessity lack the moral authority to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole.—“Daily News,” Nov. 19th, 1918.

What “moral authority” had the Liberal Government, with Mr. Asquith as its leader, “to speak or act on behalf of the people as a whole,” when they plunged this country into the most colossal war on record, placed us under D.O.R.A., and passed conscription? None whatever. Later he said—

The restrictions upon personal liberty and the freedom of speech, or even to compulsory military service, for which I was as much responsible as any man in the country. They must come to an end.—*Ibid.*

When? If he meant when Peace is signed, then his remarks are a waste of words, as the particular Acts referred to already provide for such ending. If he meant before the Election so as to allow of free expression of opinion in the contest, why did he not move in Parliament for the abolition of these restrictions? Either case convicts him of hypocrisy, but then what else was to be expected of one who, when Home Secretary, sent soldiers to shoot the miners at Featherstone, and held office as Premier when the military were used against the workers at Llanelly, Tonypandy, Dublin, etc.

With significant unanimity Liberal and Tory papers unite in placing the responsibility for this hurried election upon Lloyd George. In this matter real “unity” has been attained. Its purpose, of course, is to conceal the real authors from view and delude the workers as to the powers operating behind the scenes. To imagine for a moment that the job-hunting lawyer from Wales possessed such power would be absurd.

Behind this mountebank marionette stands the Imperialist section of the capitalist class, composed of both Liberals and Tories, who are striving to extend their dominion and power of robbing the working class, over larger areas of the globe. It was to protect their interests that this country entered into the war. When two years ago the military situation looked serious for the Allies this section looked for a more pliant tool to take charge of the Government. One was at hand possessing a glib tongue, always ready with large and extravagant promises, quite unscrupulous, and able to sway crowds with his clap-trap. A dirty political shuffle took place and Lloyd George became Prime Minister.

Of course he wishes to retain the office. He wishes to pose as the head

of "the Government that won the war," and wishes to be at its head when it "Reconstructs the Empire." He put his wishes into words at the Central Hall when he said:—

All the life of a nation has got to be reconstructed and reorganised for war, and I claim that if the Government could do that for war, it could do it for peace.—"Daily Telegraph," Nov. 18th, 1918.

Not his wishes, however, but the interests of the Imperialists, whose agent he is, demanded this Election. The signing of the Armistice has brought an immense relief after the long strain of the war, accompanied by a great thankfulness at the cessation of the horrible maiming and slaughter.

On this wave of feeling and relief the Imperialists hope to ride into full power, and to be able to carry out their economic schemes.

Not that they are QUITE sure of the result. The nervousness and anxiety of all the capitalist parties from the Conservatives to the I.L.P. is revealed in their official statements.

Despite all his swagger and bounce Lloyd George screams out for "unity of every party, every section of the community," in the Coalition.

His programme is so wide, so varied, so contradictory, that even the "Daily Mail" (18th November, 1918), usually so regardless of either logic or consistency, is afraid the fraud may be seen through, and says:—

The programme is just a little too comfortable. It adjusts the views of the extreme Tories and those of the advanced Liberals. It is a counterpane that covers everybody, and it does not quite carry conviction.

Mr. Asquith shows his nervousness when he declares that even if the Coalition is returned to power it will "lack moral authority"—which he so highly prizes when out of office.

At the public meeting, held at the Albert Hall, on 14th November, by the Labour Party after their decision to withdraw from the Coalition, speaker after speaker voiced the fear that the Labour Party would lose some of its seats as a result of this withdrawal—a clear confession that they hold these seats by permission of the Liberals and Tories.

Philip Snowden in the "Labour Leader" (7th November, 1918) says:—

The action of the Tories in taking an election in 1900 was a mild offence against public morality compared with the action of Mr. Lloyd George in forcing a General Election under existing circumstances.

The reasons for this nervousness among the capitalist parties are easy to see. Over the Continent of Europe a wave of Revolution is passing. Beginning in Russia, it has spread to Bulgaria, the Austrian Empire, and even to iron-drilled Germany. Its echoes are heard in Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, and other countries. While it is true that a Revolution seldom, if ever, occurs in a country just victorious in war, factors of unrest exist here to a degree that render the outlook distinctly uncertain. While prices of necessities are still rising thousands of munition workers are being discharged, tens of thousands are working short time, and, according to Lord Curzon—

In a few weeks' time there would be a million people out of work.—"Daily Telegraph," Nov. 21st, 1918.

And this is only the beginning. Further unemployment is bound to occur, while such demobilization as will be carried out will add to the number vainly

seeking work. Wages will fall as a result, though prices may remain up for for some time, and poverty and misery will increase as a consequence throughout the land. The scandalous treatment of discharged and disabled soldiers, over 100,000 of whom have not received a penny piece in either pension or allowance, and the way in which the wives and widows of soldiers have been dealt with, add to the seething discontent and unrest now existing. These factors tend to have a cumulative effect, and there is no special virtue in the English channel that can prevent the wave of Revolution reaching here if the conditions on this side are ripe. There is at any rate the likelihood of widespread trouble, with riots, perhaps, breaking out in many parts.

It thus becomes important for the master class to have a "mandate" for the purpose of meeting the crisis. As Bonar Law put it:—

We are going to be faced with problems the nature of which we cannot foresee . . . and we ask you to give us authority to deal with them, not as delegates, but as representatives of the people of the country.—"Daily Telegraph," Nov. 18th, 1918.

Hence the hurry of this Election. Before the deluded workers awake to a realization of how they have been duped, despite their "victory" over Germany, the master class wish to be in possession of a "mandate" so that they can claim the allegiance of the armed forces should it be considered necessary to use these forces against the workers during troubles or disputes, as when aeroplanes were used to drop bombs on the workers in Italy when they asked for bread. One strong reason for the Coalition's expectation of being returned is the fact that, outside the ranks of the Socialists, no effective opposition is placed against their programme.

The only difference between the Coalition and the Liberal programmes is that the Coalition programme PROMISES more than the Liberals.

Speaking at the Albert Hall on Nov. 14th, 1918, Mr. Adamson, chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, stated that the first and most important plank in the Labour Party's platform was:—

That the men who did the fighting and are broken should be treated justly and humanely, and their wives and children should be cared for.

The Coalition programme promises this just as strongly.

Mr. Snowden, Mr. W. C. Anderson and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald have all issued manifestoes on behalf of the I.L.P. The nearest approach to a definite statement in these manifestoes—apart from the appeal for money—is that of Mr. Anderson when he says:—

We make war on slums, on pauperism, on poverty and slavery—on the cause of these evils—land monopoly and capitalist monopoly.—"Labour Leader," Nov. 14th, 1918.

There is here no threat of a war on Capitalism, but only on monopoly. Every Liberal is against monopoly—or says he is—while Lloyd George's Limehouse and other speeches are quite as strong a protest against "land monopoly" as Mr. Anderson's. There is no real opposition in these manifestoes to the Coalition programme.

Against all these supporters of Capitalism the Socialist Party of Great Britain wages war.

We fight to abolish the CAUSE of poverty, the CAUSE of wars, the CAUSE of our enslavement, namely, THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF LIFE.

While the capitalist class own these means of life the working class are their slaves. The capitalist class retain their mastery of society so long as they control the political machinery, the real instrument of their power. Once deprived of this they become themselves subject to those controlling that machinery. Hence their frantic appeals to the working class to vote them into Parliament. Look at the sinister unanimity of all these parties upon the necessity of maintaining the existence of the capitalist system. Mr. Lloyd George appeals for unity in face of the grave perils ahead. Mr. Asquith states that though he is a Liberal—

That will not prevent me, nor ought it to prevent anyone, from giving hearty support and fullest co-operation to any Government, by whatever name it is called, which grapples with the problem of reconstruction on progressive and democratic lines.—"Daily News," Nov. 19th, 1918.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says:—

Now Europe has gained peace through destruction, and the nations threaten to stagger out of war into anarchy. We are again called upon to help and save what is good in the remnants and rebuild on good foundations.—"Labour Leader," Nov. 14th, 1918.

Who is calling upon the I.L.P.? When were they called before? We are not told, but their avowed opposition to Revolution shows their friendship for Capitalism.

Fellow-workers. Every vote given to the candidates of these parties—Coalition, Liberal, Labour, or I.L.P.—is a vote cast for the retention and extension of Capitalism, in support of the cause of wars, and therefore of their recurrence in the future, despite all the lies told about the League of Nations. It is a vote given for the continuance of poverty, of unemployment, of want in the midst of plenty, for the working class.

The Coalition programme, the Liberal platform, the Labour Party's pronouncements, the I.L.P.'s manifestoes and President Wilson's points of peace are all schemes to steer the capitalist system safely through the stormy seas ahead. Therefore the working class should REFUSE TO VOTE for any of these candidates.

For this Election the Socialist Party are unable to put forward candidates. But the workers can still vote for Socialism if they desire it. Let the workers go to the polling booths and write "SOCIALISM" across their ballot paper as shown on our front page.

True! this will not prevent the master class from being returned to power, but it will indicate how many are desirous of obtaining Socialism. It will surprise and wake up the scattered and unorganised Socialists to the need for joining the Socialist Party, to assist in its work, to extend its sphere and influence, and so make it possible for us to run candidates at another election.

We claim the WORLD FOR THE WORKERS and call upon you to fight for SOCIALISM.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

28, UNION STREET, LONDON, W.1.

DECEMBER 1ST, 1918.

BY THE WAY.

An interesting item of news recently appeared in the Press of this country. Under the heading, "On Ticket-of-Leave: Bolshevik System for the Bourgeoisie," I read that, according to a telegram from Petrograd, new passports for the bourgeoisie have been introduced by decree in the form of testimonial books. It continues—

Everybody who makes use of the work of others is to be provided with these—namely, directors of enterprises, members of administrative councils, merchants, brokers, ex-officers and lawyers. Only annotations of these books, saying that the requested work has been accomplished, will entitle the bearers to travel about Russia.—"Evening Standard," Oct. 24th, 1918.

Assuming the report to be true, I think we are entitled to rejoice and be exceedingly glad that these blessings of civilization—work and registration cards and similar documents—have been conferred on those who in the past have been graciously pleased to bestow them on members of the international working class. It is the touch ironic.

We have read so many times of late that the Bolsheviks were in the pay of the Germans that it is with difficulty we approach the following—

The *Matin* publishes a telegram from Zurich, according to which the German Press is said to be displaying uneasiness with regard to the activities of the Russian Embassy in Berlin. M. Joffre, it is stated, is suspected of assisting in the importation into Germany of bombs and grenades, which are supposed to have been subsequently hidden in different parts of Berlin.—"National News," Nov. 3rd, 1918.

Therefore, you can pay your money and take your choice. On further reflection it would appear to be so much camouflage in order to obscure the position of affairs in Russia. One thing we know is that the Bolshevik revolution has sustained for twelve months the attacks from within and without.

Another Russian tit-bit also found a place in the newspapers here, doubtless because a "Bolsky" was having a tilt at Kaiser Bill (late of Prussia). According to a telegram the Commissary, M. Zinovieff, in a speech to the Soviet in Moscow, said:—

The German Consul has requested me to reply by letter whether it is true that I called the Emperor a brigand, as the German papers say.

Amidst general laughter, M. Zinovieff asked, Is it possible to suspect a Bolshevik of expressing himself disrespectfully regarding a monarch who is God's anointed, marked with God's finger, like William? I

do not think I deserve this suspicion.—"Daily Chronicle" Oct. 25th, 1918.

One of the results of the revolution in Germany has been the liberating of Karl Liebknecht, among others, from prison. We read that

Liebknecht arrived at Berlin railway station yesterday afternoon, and was received in a triumphant manner by thousands of Berlin workmen and women, who crowded the station and surrounding streets. Liebknecht looked sick and exhausted, and his face told of hard suffering during his two years' imprisonment.—"Daily Chronicle," Oct. 25th, 1918.

In an explanatory note this journal of Liberalism goes on to inform its readers of the fearless and consistent attitude adopted by Liebknecht during the war. It says—

Karl Liebknecht is the arch-enemy at home of Prussian militarism. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1912 for Potsdam, the Kaiser's own borough. From the beginning he has opposed the war, and in appeals from prison to the workers he has proclaimed war on the German Government and the Junkers.

Now this is not the first occasion on which the English capitalist Press has given laudatory puffs to opponents of the German ruling class. Strikes on the part of the German workers have been eulogised here, whilst similar occurrences on the part of English workmen have been sufficient to call forth denunciation by that self-same Press and demands made for the immediate despatch to the front line trenches of such traitors to the country. If by a geographical accident Liebknecht had been born in England and had been the "arch-enemy" of militarism, I wonder whether he would have received the same attention in the capitalist Press, and further, would the treatment meted out to him have been any different from that which obtained under the regime of the Kaiser? From the evidences on every hand I think not.

On this subject, referred to above, an illuminating comment was made in another journal, which is worthy of repetition here. Let me quote:—

One of the most interesting and satisfactory incidents of the change in Germany has been the amnesty to political prisoners, including Karl Liebknecht. It is an instance in which there seems to be room for acting upon the old injunction that it is right to learn even from the enemy. We can scarcely, while preaching liberal principles to Germany, refuse to practise them ourselves. Some of the imprisoned "conscientious objectors" are really very little more than political prisoners. If it be argued that the conscientious objectors' crime is not political, the position of the Government becomes even more difficult. For if these men are not imprisoned for political reasons, it is difficult to see why, except on moral or religious grounds, they are imprisoned at all, and the Government have themselves expressly denied their own competence to punish men for their religious opinions.—"Daily News," Oct. 28th, 1918.

This is somewhat severe on the people who are making the world "safe for democracy." Our rulers can undoubtedly "learn even from the enemy" if they desire to do so. We have only to call to mind the Irishmen and women who have been thrown into prison, and without trial, too; the large number of C.O.'s, many of whom are undergoing the second and third sentence; and John McLean, of Glasgow, to realise how far we are behind the people who yesterday our masters termed the enemy.

Now the Election is upon us and we are hearing so much about the virtues of the Coalition candidates, "our gallant heroes" and their wives would do well to remember the generous treatment which they have received at the hands of the Coalition Governments during the war period. After long and strenuous pressure, and with an election looming in the distance, our legislators suddenly saw the justice of the demand for increased separation allowances, etc., and made some advance, with a further promise of looking into the matter. Compare this generosity with the following:

In the matter of a visit of twelve gentlemen to Dublin, when £31 of public money was spent in two days in drinks and £5 in cigars, the Ministry now state that the officer responsible was reprimanded, and he subsequently resigned. — "Daily News," Nov. 18th, 1918.

This case was reported in the papers some time ago, but I quote what might be termed the inquest story, because it confirms the allegations then made. The quotation above is taken from a memorandum replying to the criticism of the Select Committee on National Expenditure as to the transactions of the Ministry of Information. Truly the devil is good to his own.

We have been obliged to smile at the pantomime performances of Havelock Wilson of late. What with arrogating to himself the right to determine whether or no certain people should be conveyed to the Continent to attend conferences, and then at last having to climb down from this exalted position, it is surely a case of the mighty having fallen. Doubtless this last achievement was facilitated by the fact that "at a special session of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party held in Dublin it was decided, at the outset of the proceedings, to exclude the delegates of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union as a protest against the members of that Union refusing to facilitate Mr. Henderson, Mr. Huysman, and other trade unionists in attending the International Labour Congresses" ("Reynolds's," Nov. 3rd, 1918). This

is most assuredly an object-lesson of the bitter being bit.

Future historians will be able to place on record the wonderful methods adopted by a parsimonious, cheese-paring ruling class to make more tolerable the condition of its fighters and their dependents. Flag days have become part of our lives, and cadging appeals for this fund and that are of almost daily occurrence, all of which are to provide something that should have been assured by the State to the "men who have saved the Empire" (capital E, please). Ye valiant warriors, note these words—

In response to the appeal for money to supply soldiers' children with boots, "The National News" has received £937 17s. This has enabled us to relieve a thousand of the most necessitous cases in all parts of the country, and we feel that we have shown the way in which the needs of the men's dependents should now be supplied by an official organisation. We must take this opportunity of thanking our readers whose generosity has enabled us to do so much for the bootless "kiddies" of our fighting men. — "National News," Nov. 3rd, 1918.

Capitalist politicians and apologists give utterance to fine words when speaking of the self-sacrifice of the armed forces, but they have as yet failed to translate into deeds their recognition of the hardships endured by the soldiers and sailors and their dependents in making the world safe for their capitalist masters.

How well the Labour fakirs carry out the desires and devices of their capitalist paymasters has been abundantly evidenced in recent times by the "plums" of office which have been bestowed upon them. Therefore, I conclude, it was acting on the principle of one good turn deserves another that friend Clynes has made arrangements for the production of potato flour on an extensive scale to be manipulated by the capitalist for the capitalist in the interest of the capitalist. But let me quote—

Mr. Clynes desires to entrust this business to private enterprise rather than to undertake what promises to be a continuing industry with the official staff of the Ministry of Food, and has been authorised by the Treasury to afford generous facilities to persons who have suitable buildings for housing the plant, and the necessary enterprise for starting the factories. The Ministry of Food will supply the potatoes required, and will purchase the whole of the resulting flake on terms which will leave a reasonable margin of profit to the manufacturer, and also enable him to acquire the plant. — "Daily News," Oct. 21st, 1918.

Here we see the gentleman who desires to be returned to, the next Parliament to assist in the great kidding campaign of "reconstruction," helping to make the world safe for democracy—pardon, I mean for the capitalist. Though the heavens fall, we must preserve the right of "a reasonable margin of profit" to the employing class.

TUE SCOUT.

WOMAN AND HER WORK.

A writer in "Reynolds' Newspaper," Oct. 13th, 1918, bewails the fact that woman's wages should be lower than man's. She complains that

Woman has been treated as a sort of lay figure for students of economics. Her value to the employer as a profit-maker, to the community as a potential mother, to the politician as a dispenser of votes, has had the fullest consideration. But who has claimed the right of woman to that payment for her labour which will allow of a full and independent life?

The writer evidently forgets that in the past the capitalist has only employed women in preference to men because they were cheaper, and if we except those special occupations where women—because of lightness of touch, etc.—excel, men would still be employed in preference to women if wages were the same for both sexes. A woman who does equal work with a man must obviously require and obtain the same amount of the necessities of life. It does not follow, however, that the employer must pay her a wage that will provide it. Girls living with their parents for instance, look upon the factory as a makeshift to obtain a living until they get married. The capitalists know this, and the girls seldom organise to try and force them to pay for their labour-power at its cost of production, hence the parents have to make up the difference. The employment of large numbers of women sets free men who, competing with their fellow-workers, provide employers with the power to reduce men's wages; and married women, unable to live on their husband's wages, take their place beside the younger women in the factory, and the capitalist gets the husband and wife for wages that would not sustain them if they lived separately. But although the capitalist knows that the girls he employs are being partially kept by their parents, he pays no higher wages to the girl who is unfortunate enough to be without parents; on the contrary, he leaves her to face the horrors of slow starvation or prostitution, quite as a matter of course: there is no room for sentiment or philanthropy in business.

"Should wages be based upon the cost of living, or upon the value of labour to the employer?" is a question asked by the writer; and after telling us that "It is one of the greatest fallacies that wages are at present based on the value of labour to the employer," she goes on to argue for a "minimum rate of pay for all workers," which "shall allow for not a bare subsistence only, but a decent standard of comfort which shall include joy and beauty in the life of the worker."

Unlike many writers on economic subjects Elinor Dale realises the fact that labour-power is a commodity. She speaks first of wages, and then of the "price and value of labour," thus recognising that the terms wages and price of labour-power

are synonymous. What she does not do, however, is to show how the owners of this particular commodity, within a system based on the production and exchange of commodities, can be given preferential treatment without deranging the whole capitalist system. For if the ruling class guarantee such a standard of living to all workers, they at once surrender their power to coerce them by hunger, which the pitiless commodity character of labour-power gives them.

The development of industry tends to establish a minimum, reducing the price of highly skilled labour-power by the simple process of eliminating the skill. Machinery, new methods and standardization does this, and while reducing the number of skilled workers required increases the number of competitors. The drudgery of factory and mill becoming ever more degrading and distasteful, induces ever-increasing numbers to avail themselves of the growing facilities for acquiring technical knowledge, with the result that every occupation and profession is overcrowded, has its army of unemployed, dragging down wages and salaries.

Equal opportunities for women to win the plums of the capitalist system will not solve the problem of woman's subjection. The working-class includes both sexes, equally subjected and exploited by the capitalist class. The great bulk of the workers must take the first job that offers, though it affords no more than a bare subsistence; it is no consolation to these if they have equal opportunities, so-called, because under the system the vast majority must be condemned to incessant toil and poverty.

Women have an equal opportunity with men to work for Socialism. It is their duty to their class so to work, and through their class to their sex, because it is only by Socialism the workers can guarantee themselves a "full and independent life." Most reforms have been tried in one capitalist country or another, and have failed to retard the increasing poverty of the workers. Higher education, an open door from the board schools to the university, was going to increase our efficiency, increase the production of wealth, cheapen commodities, and make it easier to live. Instead, it has meant only a levelling down of labour-power, and the standard of living of the workers has steadily fallen while they have produced more wealth per head.

It is true that men increase their efforts and struggle ever more furiously to win the best jobs; it is true that women have entered the race and proved capable in many spheres. But after all, they only serve sections of the ruling class in the sordid game of realising profits; throwing the whole world into worse degrees of anarchy, and breeding—as the capitalist system must always breed—new disputes between national groups of capitalists, for whom a plethora of wealth must always mean squabbles and bloodshed over markets.

Socialism must be established by the workers

before they can enjoy the fruits of their labour. The madness of excessive competition built up on the commodity character of labour-power and production for profit, can only cease when production is carried on for use. Capitalist anarchy grows with the growth of Capitalism. The system fails utterly to give a full life to the class that produces all wealth. Capitalism is over-ripe. Men and women are needed to awaken the workers to a realisation of their slavery, to expose confusionists, and impart a knowledge of Socialism to those who suffer under the system, that they may organise and work for their emancipation. F. F.

THE LITTLE TAMBOURINE.

It will be a matter of great regret to all who desire Socialism that our efforts to raise a fund which would enable us to strike a direct blow at the present Election has failed. However, we can do something. Meanwhile the need for finance is as great as ever. How about a Xmas Box!

FIFTH LIST.

Already acknowledged	£218 0 10
Collected, Members Meeting, Nov. 24th, 1918	3 4 6
" E.T.U. Meeting, Tooting	15 0
" A Few Rebels	2 8 0
Donation, Islington Branch	5 0 0
Sheet 180, H. C. G., Acton: J. K., 6s. 6d.; E. W., 6s. 6d.; H. C. G., 1s. 4s.; W. B., 1s. 6s.; Miss K. G., 6s. 6d.; C. M., 12s.; A. P., 9s.; DeH., 13s.; G. E., 2s. 6d.; Total	5 6 0
Sheet 07, Wm. Chexfield, Battersea	2 15 4
" 177, H. Wallis, Tooting	2 3 6
" 176, A. Barker	7 0
" 175, A. Elliott	10 6
" 121, F. W. Tickner, at G.W.'s, Hendon	1 5 3
" 159, A. Silver, East London	1 7 6
" 80, Nell Gynne, West Ham	1 2 0
" 75, C. Parker	15 0
" 8, A. Leslie	10 6
" 82, A. B. Dryer	10 0
" 7, F. D. Redgrave	6 1
" 100, S. W. Godfrey, Tottenham	13 6
" 178, E. Fairbrother, Central	12 0
" 139, J. A. Yearsley	10 0
" Wilkinson, Islington	9 6
" 169, R. Goy, Plumstead	3 0
L. Shearstone, Nottingham	1 0 0
J. S. B., Southend	1 0 0
F. J. H., Hornsey, N.	1 0 0
E. F. J., Muswell Hill, N.	1 0 0
M. A. B., Fulham	10 0
W. C. Matthews, Wood Green	10 0
A. W.	10 0
H. E., Kent	10 0
A. Tewkesbury	10 0
A. and L. Shearstone	8 0
Will Green	9 0
J. G. May	5 0
Edith Lechmers	5 0
J. Hardy	5 0
Harry Hall	4 0
Wm. Austin	2 0
Total	£257 3 0

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.